SHAKESPEARE STUDIES

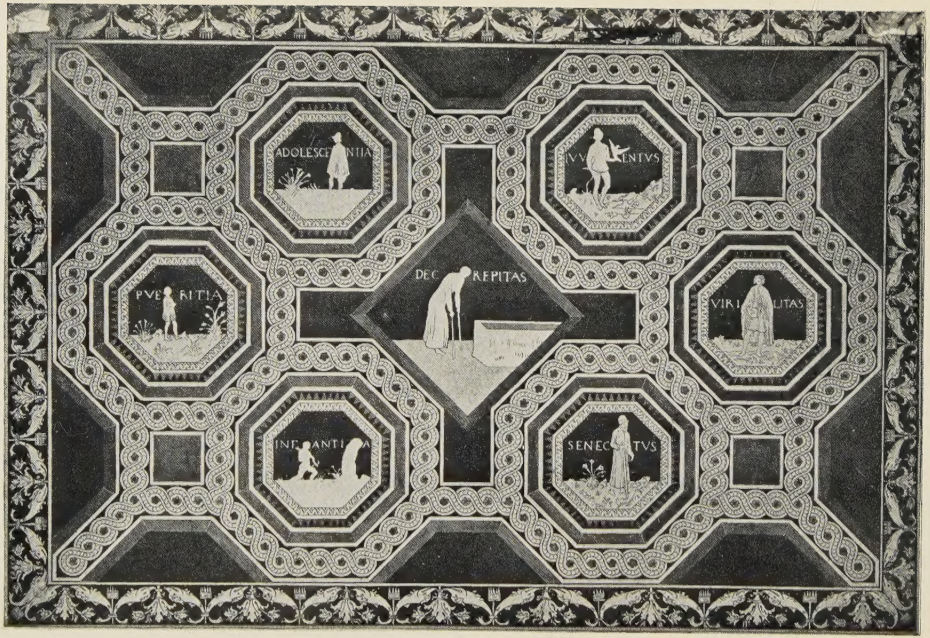
BIOGRAPHICAL AND LITERARY

FRIPP

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2022 with funding from
Kahle/Austin Foundation

https://archive.org/details/shakespearestudi0000edga

SHAKESPEARE
STUDIES



THE SEVEN AGES OF MAN

Mosaic Pavement in the Cathedral, Siena. Inscription: 'Tempore D. Savini MCCCCLXXVI'

SHAKESPEARE STUDIES

Biographical and Literary

By EDGAR I. FRIPP

Life Trustee of Shakespeare's Birthplace

Author of *Master Richard Quyny, Bailiff of Stratford-upon-Avon and Friend of William Shakespeare*; of *Shakespeare's Stratford*; of *Shakespeare's Haunts near Stratford*

Editor of *Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-upon-Avon and other Records*, 1553–1620

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON : HUMPHREY MILFORD
1930

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, OXFORD
BY JOHN JOHNSON
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

TO

OLD DOLLY *and* TOM

AND

YOUNG TOM *and* MOLLY

ARTISTS ALL

122364

FOREWORD

THE MAIN PART of these *Studies* is supplementary to *Shakespeare's Stratford*, *Shakespeare's Haunts near Stratford*, *Master Richard Quyny*, and my introductions to *Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-upon-Avon and other Records 1553–1620*, and will assist, I hope, in completing the picture of the Poet's native country as I have endeavoured to see it.

The long essay on Ovid's *Metamorphoses* will demand no apology in view of the amazing misunderstanding as to Shakespeare's Latinity. I have tried to follow the happy youth in the study of his school-book, and the not less happy Poet in the use of it in his Art.

In the studies of Falstaff and Jaques I have sought to interpret the Artist. In the painter of these outstanding, not to say incomparable, portraits I do not detect the 'careless genius'—careless either in temper or workmanship; so indifferent to Religion as to be content with it as *nuance*, that 'did not know whether Beauty was from God or the Devil and did not care'![1] On the contrary, I am impressed by his high concern, his immense ethical grip, his profound consciousness of God, not the less searching for its breadth and unobtrusiveness.

Happy discovery in these fields of investigation, biographical and literary, warns me against the role of critic and censor of Shakespeare, and bids me knock afresh and with faith at the grim Gate of Research—grim only to those who stand and pass judgement outside.

E. I. F.

[1] *Times Literary Supplement*, 27 February, 1930 (p. 149).

OBLIGATIONS

SOME portions of this book have appeared at various times in print—in *The Hibbert Journal*, *The Times*, *The Inquirer*, *The Interpreter*; and to these I would express my thanks for reproduction of the same. I am obliged also to the publishers of Weston's *Historical Notes* of Witton, *Souvenir of The Tudor House, Stratford*, Gayley's *Plays of Our Forefathers*, Walter's *Shakespeare's True Life*, and McKerrow's *Works of Thomas Nashe*, for illustrations facing pages 36, 75, 85, 98, 151; and to my son, Mr. Paul Fripp, Director of Art at the Ladies' College, Cheltenham, for his photographs reproduced at pages 8, 9, 10, 11, 42, 43, 57, 67, 72, 73, 77, 78, 96, 97, 136, 137, 150, as for his design of the 'Sanctuary Knocker' on the wrapper. I am indebted to my Fellow Trustees of the Birthplace for permission to reproduce what is in their possession or charge, and to Sir E. K. Chambers, the Rev. J. C. Hardwick, and Mr. Wellstood for assistance in reading and correcting proofs.

EDGAR I. FRIPP.

STOW-ON-THE-WOLD.

CONTENTS

Foreword iii
List of Illustrations vii
1. A Friend of Shakespeare's Grandfather . . 1
2. Henry Samuel of Stratford . . . 4
3. A Distinguished Resident at *New Place* . . 7
4. An Intruder at *New Place* . . . 10
5. The Minister who Baptized Shakespeare . 13
6. The Will and Inventory of John Bretchgirdle . 23
7. John Brownsword: Poet and Schoolmaster at Stratford 31
8. Brownsword's Poem to Richard Lucy of Charlecote 49
9. The Old Town Clerk . . . 52
10. *The New House* 55
11. Alderman Sadler's House . . . 62
12. Alderman Shakespeare's House . . 66
13. Alderman Rogers and his House . . 69
14. Master John Smith of *The New House* . . 76
15. Master Alexander Aspinall . . . 78
16. Alderman Shakespeare's Religion . . 81
17. Shakespeare's Use of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* . 98
18. Katharine Hamlet and 'Ophelia' . . 128
19. The ' Canon 'gainst Self-slaughter ' . . 136
20. 'Falstaff' 139
21. 'Monsieur Jaques', ' Mounsir What-Ye-Call't' . 151
22. Light on Doctor Hall . . . 168
Index 173

ADDENDA

P. 1. Valuable structural features have just come to light at no. 36 High Street, Stratford (Lennards). Behind the modern brick front was hidden, until a few weeks ago, the tall one-gabled timber house, with Atwood's Shop on the ground-floor, and his Tavern (adorned with a handsome medieval stone chimney-piece) in the rear. In a chamber under the roof is mural decoration.

P. 171 end: 'permit'. I mean, the practical impossibility of any one acquainted with a Birthday deathday giving the bald *Obiit* &c. without slightest indication of the coincidence.

17 *April* 1930.

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. 'The Seven Ages of Man' *Frontispiece*
2. 'Gorshaw's' . . . . . *facing page* 8
3. The Hall at 'Gorshaw's' 9
4. The Gallery at 'Gorshaw's' 10
5. A Peep in 'Gorshaw's' 11
6. Witton Chapel and Vicarage (from Weston's *Historical Notes*) 36
7. Signatures of John Bretchgirdle and John Brownsword . 37
8. Old School-House at Warwick 42
9. Schoolmaster's Chamber at Stratford 43
10. Signature of Alderman William Smith (Smythe) . . 56
11. Wainscoted Chamber in his Dwelling, 'The New House' . 57
12. Shakespeare's Birthplace in the year 1788 . . . 66
13. The Back of the Birthplace 67
14. The House of Alderman Thomas Rogers . . . 72
15. Carving on the front of his House 73
16. Chamber in his House 74
17. The House of John Wilmore (from *Souvenir of Tudor House*) 75
18. Signatures to Letter on behalf of the Elementary Schoolmaster 76
19. 'The Joiner's House' next the Gild Hall 77
20. 'Chapel' (Gild Hall Quad) 78
21. *Signum* of Thomas Deege, Signature of William Gilbert (Gilbard), and Nickname of Alexander Aspinall ('great Phillip Massedon') 79
22. Extract from John Shakespeare's 'Accompt' as Chamberlain, 1564 84
23. 'Image' in the Chapel 'defaced' by John Shakespeare (from Gayley's *Plays of our Forefathers*) 85
24. Extract from the Town Clerk's (Richard Symons's) Minutes, 1565 86
25. Extract from John Shakespeare's 'Accompt' as Chamberlain, 1566 87
26. Signatures and Marks of the Corporation, 1564 . . . 96

27. Mark and Initials of John Shakespeare, 1559 and 1592 *facing page* 97

28. Rough Draft of Assignment of Arms for John Shakespeare impaled with those of Arden (from Walter's *Shakespeare's True Life*) 98

29 & 30. Page and Leaf of the Aldine *Metamorphoses* (1502) 126, 127

31. The Avon at Tiddington 136

32. 'The Teneries' above the Almshouses at Stratford (originally the gallery was open) 137

33. Lodge at the Entrance to the Gild Hall and Chapel Quad . 150

34. 'The Picture of Gabriell Harvey' (from *Nashe*, McKerrow, iii. 38) 151

NOTES ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS

1 'The Seventh and Last Age' is the Central Picture, with the Cross behind it.

23 The little Devil will shatter the pedestal on which the Whore of Babylon stands (Revelation xvii, xix) and plunge her into Hell. From a wall-painting in the Chapel, at the west-end on the right of the Tower-arch, below a painting of St. George and the Dragon.

29 & 30 The signature in 29 has the unfailing upward slant of the Poet's autograph. The *W* and *h* are beautifully written as in a book prized by the owner. The *W* strongly resembles that in the chief signature to the Will, and again that in the signature in the Montaigne. The *h* is very like that in the chief signature to the Will, and similar to those in the signatures in the Will on sheets one and two, the Mortgage-deed of 1613, and the Montaigne. The *W* lacks the usual dot (unless it be outside the loop), as do those of the Will on sheets one and two and the Mortgage-deed. As always, the *W* and the *S* are disconnected from the letters that follow. The *S*, in its original condition, was worthy of the *W* and the *h*, and resembles markedly the *S* of the chief signature to the Will. Apparently it has been retraced, on account of the fading ink, by a subsequent possessor, nervously and clumsily, and has given to some the impression of forgery. The *m*, too, seems to have suffered. The difficulty of identifying 'W. Hall' and 'T. N.' in 30 with known friends of the Poet confirms the genuineness of the inscription.

1. A FRIEND OF SHAKESPEARE'S GRANDFATHER

THE heart of Stratford, when John Shakespeare came to town to serve his apprenticeship, was the High Cross, where Bridge Street (Fore and Back), Henley Street, Wood Street and High Street met. On the west side of High Street, from Wood Street to Swine Street, were some dozen leading business premises, houses, with one exception, of the old two-storied gabled type, large enough to satisfy the homely wants of the dwellers and bring small fortunes (with the aid of yeomanry or some other subsidiary occupation) to the industrious and enterprising. Two or three doors below the Cross (on the site of now no. 36) was the combined tailor's shop and tavern of a friend of young Shakespeare's father, Thomas Atwood. It had a frontage of 16 feet and a depth of 60 feet, and was leased by Atwood from the Gild of the Holy Cross at a rent of 14*s.* a year with a 'fine'.[1] He had to keep it in repair and, if necessary, rebuild it, doubtless a structure of timber and wattle, with stone foundation and chimney-stacks. Here, with his wife Elizabeth, who would mind the tavern, and without children, he acquired considerable possessions, and was able to make at his death generous, numerous, and, to the historian of Stratford, most interesting bequests.

He was in Stratford for thirty years, and how much longer we know not, had relatives in Solihull, Beoley, and Rowington, as well as Stratford, with the same *alias* as himself (Tailor, Taylor, pointing to an inherited vocation) and included among his friends both members of his craft, such as Richard Sharpe and Richard Hill, and prominent townsmen like Master Hugh Reynolds, Master William Smith, Richard Symons the Town Clerk, and the Quyneys, of his generation, Adrian and Richard.

[1] Purchase price.

A young kinsman of his, Humphrey Taylor, graduated at Oxford in February 1542 from Brasenose, and the same year was made a Fellow of All Souls.[1] Atwood, who was a devout and benevolent Catholic, wanted him to take orders. He left him bedding and £3 6*s*. 8*d*. and, if he entered the Church, his best silver cup, to be given to him on the day he sang his first mass—which cup, if he did not become a priest, was to be sold and the money given to the poor. He bequeathed his 'best gown furred with fitchews' to Oliver Francis of Warwick, his 'Kentish tawny gown furred in black lamb' ('tawny' is dark yellow) to Richard Symons aforesaid, his 'black gown furred in black lamb' to Daniel Taylor, and his 'violet gown furred with fox' to Robert Taylor of Beoley. Silver was scarce in 1543, but Atwood possessed, besides the cup conditionally left to the Oxford student, plate which he bequeathed to his wife, a silver goblet and spoons, three 'pictured with Apostles' and twelve 'pictured in Maiden Heads'. The last, representing the Virgin Mary, were not uncommon in Stratford. Atwood left money for the Bridge and for highways, five spinning-wheels to five poor townswomen and five pairs of woollen cards to five more. The poor benefited considerably, receiving £5 at his burial, £1 on the Good Friday following his death, £1 at his 'month's mind' and the partial proceeds of a barn and garden for seven years. Part of the rent of a house which he owned in Corn Street went to a yearly obit on Assumption Day (15 August), part to the Almsfolk and other poor. He died committing his soul to Almighty God, the Blessed Lady Saint Mary and all the Holy Company of Heaven, and his body to be buried in the Church, 'at the end of the seat where I did use to kneel and sit', with full service by the priests, clerks and choristers both of the College and the Gild,[2] followed by

[1] *Register of the University*, i. 202.

[2] He speaks of 'the parish or College Church' and of 'the Chapel in Stratford'.

'month's minds' for a year, 'year's minds' for seven years, and mass for his soul for a twelvemonth, by a priest who was to be paid £5 6*s.* 8*d.* Godchildren (including Thomas, son to Thomas Badger, of Bidford), apprentices, and servants were remembered, and the debts of customers marked in his books with a *p* (for *pardonatus*) were to be cancelled. His bequests of cloth are noticeable for their price and quality—15 yards at 1*s.* a yard to five poor townsmen, 3 yards at 4*s.* a yard to his sister, and 3½ yards at 5*s.* a yard to his vicar, one of the witnesses of his will, Sir John Bartlett. In material alone his reverence's garb would not cost less than £15 in our post-war money; but the cloth was such as could not now be purchased.

Atwood's connexion with the Quyneys seems to have been long and intimate. The earliest known reference to him is as supervisor of a relative's will—Richard Atwood *alias* Tailor of Stratford—dated 21 December 1513, with Adrian Quyney. In 1524 he and the same Adrian Quyney, whom we will call Adrian Quyney the First, were elected Bridge Wardens, and in May 1525 they presented their account. Adrian Quyney the First had a wife Katharine. He and his wife had been admitted to the Gild of Stratford in 1497, the year of the rebuilding of the Chapel by the mason Dowland. Quyney was elected a Proctor in 1501, Master in 1515, and an Alderman at various dates until 1533. He died before April 1534, when his widow married John Combe of Astley and Stratford, the friend of William Lucy. He left a son, Richard Quyney, whom we will call Richard Quyney the First. Atwood had then been an Alderman of the Gild since 1527, if not earlier. In 1537 the Gild granted him a lease of his house in High Street for eighty years, a very liberal concession. In 1542 he and his wife made a deed entrusting his house in the Corn Street (in the tenure and occupation of Francis Harbage the skinner, afterwards host of the *Bear* in Bridge Street) to Hugh Reynolds, Richard Quyney, Thomas Whateley, and William Smith of High Street,

for charitable uses. He made his will on 21 October 1543, appointing Robert Taylor and Thomas Badger his residuary legatees and executors, and Thomas Whateley and Richard Quyney, his 'welbeloved friends', supervisors. It was proved in London by the executors on 10 May 1544.[1]

The outstanding bequest for us has yet to be mentioned. It is, 'unto Richarde Shakespeare of Snytfelde my foure oxen which are nowe in his keping'. This was a team of oxen for wain[2] or plough, in the charge of John Shakespeare's father at Snitterfield. Such a gift was no small mark of friendship. Thomas Atwood lives as a link, in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, between the Quyney and Shakespeare families.

2. HENRY SAMUEL OF STRATFORD

IF, as we may believe, John Shakespeare served his apprenticeship with Thomas Dickson *alias* Waterman, glover and landlord of the *Swan*, and his wife, Joan Townsend of Snitterfield, he was familiar with Richard Quyney's freehold-house opposite, between the *Bear* on the east and Henry Samuel's shop on the west.[3] Richard Quyney, who was Bridgewarden with Master Hugh Reynolds and Thomas Whateley in 1526–7, purchased this house of Robert Hooper of Walton in 1541. He was Master of the Gild in 1542–3, and by the Gild was granted in 1544 a lease of his father's house (Adrian Quyney's), at the corner of High Street and Sheep Street (afterward Hamlet Sadler's) for ninety years. In 1546 he lost his neighbour in Bridge Street, Henry Samuel.

Samuel was a contemporary of Thomas Atwood, a brother of his 'mystery' (though a draper, not a tailor), and belonged

[1] P. C. C. 7 Pynning.

[2] 'One yron bound cart or wayne and four oxen' is a bequest in the above Thomas Badger's will of 13 Oct. 1571.

[3] See Map in *Shakespeare's Stratford* (at the end).

to the old régime which was tottering to its fall. A widower (he had lost his wife Margaret recently), he left everything to his son, Thomas Samuel, after friendly benefactions which take us into many homes and localities, and throw light on culture. He signed his will on Sunday 7 February 1546 in the presence of his neighbours, Thomas Dickson of the *Swan* and John Neville of the *Angel*, and 'Sir William Dalam clerk and schoolmaster of Stratford', the probable writer, the Broad Catholic priest appointed master of the Gild School in November 1543 and occupant of the picturesque *camera iuxta Aulam*. Dickson was a Constable this year of the borough, Neville was proctor of the Gild. There is mention of 'the Great Bridge of Stratford', now half a century old, on the 'mayntenaunce' of which the trade of the town and of Bridge Street in particular depended; of 'the Bridge beneath the Mill', the wooden foot-and-bridle-bridge into Old Stratford; the bridge 'a this syde Yngyng Dall', otherwise Ingon Dale, on the way to Snitterfield; the lane at the testator's 'gardyn syde', apparently Butt Lane by Bankcroft; his 'tenter close', it would seem in Sheep Street; the Almshouse in Church Street and the almsfolk; the Chapel and its two or three priests; the Church with its warden and subwarden, chanter, organist, four 'quiristers', two or more priests, and parish curate; the High altar of the Church, and the 'aleys betwixt the trinyte aulter and Jhesus aulter', where 'or els nygh joyninge unto hit' Henry Samuel desired to be buried. His brother John was in the King's Almshouse at Abingdon (still with us and delightful to behold), to whom he bequeathed 40*s.* in money, $3\frac{1}{2}$ yards of broad cloth 'to make him a habett', and an annuity of 6*s.* 8*d.* Thomas Badger was his godson—Thomas Badger of Bidford Grange, executor and residuary legatee of Thomas Atwood. To him he left a noble, to his wife Joan a 'worsted curtill', tachehooks and a hat, the belongings of his late Margaret, and to their children a memorial shilling apiece, to Mary their daughter also a heart of black

jet closed in silver with an image of Saint James upon it. To Annys Whateley was to go his wife's second gown and best hat; to Elizabeth Powres *alias* Heth, his wife's red curtill and worsted gown, with bedding, a pot and pan, two platters and a saucer, also a bason and a laver; and to Elizabeth Earle, evidently his maid, who would leave after his decease, a petticoat new made, his wife's second smock, a kerchief, a pinner, an apron, and 'at her going away a new pair of hosen and shoes'. Annys Whateley (perhaps the wife of Thomas Whateley) was mother by a previous husband of Joan and Margaret Lightfoot, whose name recalls Richard Lightfoot, the baker of Sheep Street, with courage to resist Squire Clopton on 5 July 1537 in his heresy-hunt after the rector of Hampton Lucy.[1] To these girls Samuel bequeathed a bason and laver and a noble apiece, and to Margaret as his god-daughter a memorial shilling more. To every one of his godchildren he bequeathed a silver twopence. Other recipients were Thomas Glover (of 'a fryse cote and a olde dublett of worstedd tawny'), John Wilmyns 'laborur in Henly Strete' (of 'a sleueles violett cote and a olde paire of hose'), Jone Smythe (of 'a kercheffe'), Annys Palmer (a 'kercheffe'), and last, but not least, Emmot Lorde, wife of Master Richard Lord (of his wife's best gown). Master Lord, a butcher, and Master Thomas Robins of Northbrooke House, Snitterfield, were to be supervisors, and to have for their pains, Master Lord 'my best colte', Master Robins 'a cloke clothe of the best clothe in my shoppe'.

Samuel like Atwood died a devout son of the Church, bequeathing his soul unto 'Allmyghtie God, trustyng through the merites of Cristes passion and deathe to be saved, desyring the glourious virgyn, Saint mary our Lady, with all the holly companye of heuen to praye for me'. His burial, within the church, in the 'aley' aforesaid, was to be celebrated by the whole body of the clergy, assisted by the priests of the Chapel,

[1] *Shakespeare's Haunts*, p. 110 f.

with gifts to every altar and to the clergy their dues, and distribution of £4 to the poor 'where most nede shalbe'. His month's mind was to be kept for a twelvemonth, with a full choral celebration, the priests of the Chapel participating, at the year's end. Masses were to be sung for the souls of himself, his Margaret, and his parents John and Amys Samuel. The will was proved in London on 29 March.[1]

3. A DISTINGUISHED RESIDENT AT NEW PLACE

'NEW Place'[2] was the 'great house' built at the close of the fifteenth century by Sir Hugh Clopton, a wealthy London merchant, in anticipation of his retirement to his native town, over-against the Chapel where he hoped to say his prayers and have prayers said for his soul as a brother of the Gild. He had already built the Stone Bridge, and was rebuilding on an equally generous scale the nave and tower of the Chapel when, taken ill in London, he signed his will on 14 September 1496 and died the next day. The 'great house' is described as '*burgagio ex opposito Capelle ex parte boriali*',[3] and was 'great' in comparison with the testator's lesser houses in Corn Street and High Street. His heir, William Clopton, his brother's grandson, was in possession until 1521, and on the death of William's widow in 1525 it passed to their son, William Clopton, whom we have seen as the antagonist of William Lucy of Charlecote.[4] Leland visited Stratford in 1541 or 1542 and reported:

'The town hath two or three very large streets. . . . It is reasonably well builded of timber. . . . There is a right goodly

[1] P. C. C. 6 Alen.

[2] It was named such as early as 1532 (Halliwell-Phillipps, *Shakespearean Rarities*, Baker, 145), and probably from the first.

[3] A 'burgage' always denotes a building as well as a site in the Stratford records.

[4] *Shakespeare's Haunts*, 108–14.

Chapel in a fair street toward the south end of the town. . . . This chapel was newly re-edified in mind of man by one Hugh Clopton, mayor of London. . . . This Clopton builded also by the north side of this chapel a pretty house of brick and timber, wherein he lay in his latter days and died.'

Clopton did not die in his 'great house', but its association by Leland with the Chapel and his description of it are interesting. The stately stonework of the Chapel might suggest the term 'pretty' for the edifice immediately facing it. The brick was employed not only for chimney-stacks, as at Burbage's tavern in Bridge Street and 'Gorshaw's' in Rother Street, but for the filling of the spaces in the timber-frame: a new and, as the history of the house proves, disastrous substitute for daub and wattle.

'Gorshaw's' is the name given, on slender evidence, to a venerable building of the old type which is one of the treasures of Stratford (Mason's Court). An annual rent out of 'a messuage in Rother Street' was granted to the Gild by William de Gorshaw in or before the year 1343. This or its successor may be the house in Rother Street held under the Gild in 1446 by Philip Whateley, baker, and his wife Elizabeth, who had five children, including a son William and a son Richard, the latter a Master of Arts in orders, admitted a member of the Gild in 1490.

It is a beautiful specimen of homely Gothic work, to be associated with the rugged simplicity and sincerity of life, the black-letter writing, the broad full-vowelled speech of the fifteenth century. There is no affectation, no pretension in this lowly, manifest, perdurable structure, nothing that disappoints on closer examination, nothing that proves to be not what it seems. However limited, we could not cease to love it nor leave it but with regret—its little hall and gallery and open-roof, its overhanging upper story (now obscured at one end), with handsome arched and shadowed recess, its kitchen with

'GORSHAW'S'

THE HALL AT 'GORSHAW'S'

open hearth, parlour and shop and series of bedrooms over, its unglazed windows, latticed above with running shutters, open below with shutters hanging for use as a shelf to display goods.

It is not what it was. The hand of man has treated it more cruelly than Time—has divided it into tenements, partitioned its chambers, whitewashed its painted walls, removed its hangings, and as the wattle and daub, so skilful and taut and lasting (if skilfully and timely renewed), decayed, replaced it with clumsy brickwork (good enough for the poor) which has distorted the fine timber frame. Fascinating as it still is, it is far from what Shakespeare saw and loved. To that we are assisted by a better preserved example of the old type, the 'Joiner's House' in Church Street.

New Place was an experiment in 'brick and timber', and not a success. It did not last like 'Gorshaw's'. It suffered badly in the tenure of a distinguished occupant. Doctor Thomas Bentley was a native of Woodstock and a scholar of New College, Oxford. He filled the office of Northern Proctor in 1507, graduated in medicine as well as in arts, taking his M.B. in 1516 and his M.D. in 1519.[1] His fame as a physician reached the Court, whence he was sent for from Oxford in 1521. On the death of Linacre in 1524 he was appointed one of the King's Physicians, took up his residence in London, and was elected President in 1525 of the College of Physicians, an honour conferred upon him again in 1529 and probably subsequently. In 1537 Queen Jane Seymour presented him with a gold brooch. His emoluments at Court in 1539 nearly rivalled those of Sir William Butts. Retiring to Stratford he took a lease of New Place from William Clopton on 20 November 1543 for forty years at a rent of £10 per annum, with land at Ryon Clifford and Ingon for his cattle and horses.[2] Yeomanry and

[1] *Register of the University*, i. 52, 89.

[2] Cf. 'Item paid to Master Bentley for carrying gravel xvii[d]' (Bridge Wardens' Account, 1547).

his collection of silver plate, which probably owed something to his wealthy patients at Court, seem to have given him pleasure in his old age. He possessed three cups with covers, ten pots with covers and one without cover, two salts with covers, 'a nest of goblets with covers', and spoons. In or about 1547 he exchanged his lease for another, for the lives of himself and his wife during widowhood. He owned the lease of a house in Oxford called 'George Hall', which was let to Herman Evans, the University *stationarius* or *virgifer*.[1] Among his bequests was one to 'William Clarke, whom I have brought up of charity'. In his Protestant will, 26 January 1549,[2] he committed his soul to Almighty God, 'only trusting and firmly believing to be saved by the faith that I have in Christ, who did suffer for the redemption of one and all mankind, therefore not by the prayers of men or angels or the Virgin Mary'. His son, William, to whom he bequeathed silver plate, died a Romanist in 1574. Witnesses to Doctor Bentley's will were John Jeffreys of the Shrieve's House in Sheep Street[3] and late (if not still) landlord of the *Crown* in Bridge Street, Thomas Dickson *alias* Waterman of the *Swan*, William Minske a draper, and Lawrence Baynton mercer of High Street (on the site of 37, 37*a*). Squire Clopton did not find the Doctor an amenable tenant, nor his widow after him. Neither kept New Place in repair, or obeyed the orders of the manorial court, or paid the rent (which was a heavy one) at the times agreed upon. So, at any rate, Clopton alleged, complaining that the house at Bentley's death was left 'in great ruin and decay'.

4. AN INTRUDER AT NEW PLACE

WIDOW Bentley married Master Richard Charnock of Welcombe and thus forfeited the lease of New Place. But she declined to yield it and began a suit in Chancery. To

[1] *Register*, II. i. 261, 283. [2] P. C. C. 6 Coade.
[3] *Shakespeare's Stratford*, 38.

THE GALLERY AT 'GORSHAW'S'

A PEEP IN 'GORSHAW'S'

get the Charnocks out, Clopton, apparently, put his son in, shortly before April 1559. Elizabeth was now on the throne, and the Cloptons as zealous Catholics had fallen on evil days. Mistress Clopton died in January 1559, and Squire Clopton the January after. William Bott of Snitterfield, his agent, witnessed his will on 4 January 1560; and when the heir, again William Clopton, removed from New Place to Clopton House, the unscrupulous lawyer went to reside at New Place, and taking advantage of his master's difficulties, political and financial, he succeeded in alienating part at any rate of the property to himself.[1]

In virtue no doubt of his occupancy of New Place Bott obtained a seat on the aldermanic bench without previous service in the stepping-stone offices. Old Richard Symons, the Town Clerk (of whom more later[2]), had a poor opinion of his 'honesty', and told him so. There was a scene one Sunday morning, 24 October 1563, in 'the house of Thomas Dickson called *The Swan*', between Bott and a freeholder of Henley-in-Arden, Rowland Wheeler. 'I will lay thee fast by the heels', said Bott to the other, 'for thou art a villain and a rogue.' Wheeler replied, 'Before thou shalt prove me a rogue'—and put him in the stocks—'I do trust to see thee set upon the pillory; for thou art a false harlot, a false villain and a *rebellion*'[3]—that is, a low-minded and low-born fellow and a *rebel*, 'rebellion' apparently being a rolled-out form of the word 'rebel' as 'rascallion' of 'rascal'. Evidently Bott was a Catholic. Wheeler, said Bott, abused him because he was 'envious of his prosperity'. Bott, then, was prosperous. In the Gild Garden (a few yards from the New Place Garden), on the memorable morning of 30 August 1564, he contributed even more than the Bailiff to the plague-stricken.[4] His signature is attached to the order respecting Alderman John Wheeler of 27 September. He was

[1] *Outlines*, ii. 102. [2] Pp. 52–5.
[3] *Court of Record Register*, Misc. Doc. v. 15, 68f., 186. [4] P. 20.

'Master Bott' and *generosus*. But a nest of hornets was about his ears. Not only Symons and Rowland Wheeler and Squire Clopton (who protested that he had 'received his rents, withheld the money, and forged a deed relating to his lands'), but Richard Gilbert of Binton, John Harper of Henley and John Walsingham of Exhall[1] were after him. Walsingham, a 'gentleman', stated on oath that Bott 'oppressed divers poor men, and took away their cattle; whereupon they went to one Master Underhill, a man of law, a very good man dwelling near by, and did desire *help for God's sake* as they were utterly undone: who did take the matter in hand.... No poor man might dwell by (Bott) if Master Underhill did not assist him.' His 'opprobrious words' to the Bailiff, good Richard Hill, were not to be borne with, and on 9 May 1565 he was 'expulsed' from the Corporation, to make room for John Shakespeare as an alderman and Nicholas Barnhurst as a burgess. This summer he fell foul of his neighbour, Richard Spooner, in Corn Street respecting timber the latter had removed from New Place barn-yard in Chapel Lane.

Curiously enough Bott parted with New Place to his rival, the poor man's lawyer, William Underhill, in July 1567. He and his wife Elizabeth and a third party, Alban Heton, sold their interest in the property, consisting of a messuage and a garden, for £40. The house must have been in very bad condition, and Bott glad to get out of it, that he should dispose of it with a garden for this modest sum. We hear of him very occasionally afterwards and he was buried at Snitterfield on 1 November 1582.

William Underhill belonged to an old Warwickshire family sharply divided on religion. He had relatives at Eatington and Hunningham, of whom the former were Catholics, the latter Protestants. Edward Underhill, son of Thomas of Hunningham,

[1] His effigy in brass is in Exhall Church, where he was buried on 20 Jan. 1566/7.

was known as the 'hot gospeller' and a devoted supporter of Hooper. He fled from London in Mary's reign to Baginton near Coventry, whence on Elizabeth's accession he returned to the metropolis. Thomas Underhill of Eatington was 'an adversary of True Religion' in 1564. He had a younger brother William, and a daughter Mary. William, born about 1523, studied at the Inner Temple, prospered as a lawyer, settled at Idlicote and defended 'poor men' against William Bott. He purchased not only New Place, but a lease of the Wilmecote tithe from the Stratford Corporation. As purchaser of this lease he was entertained at dinner at the *Swan* in 1568. His first wife, by whom he had a son William and three daughters, died in 1561; his second wife, a sister of Sir Christopher Hatton, died in 1569. He died in 1570.

5. THE MINISTER WHO BAPTIZED SHAKESPEARE

JOHN BRETCHGIRDLE, or more commonly in Cheshire, Bracegirdle, was a native of Baguley near Manchester, and it is interesting to trace his steps from the Cheshire village to Stratford-upon-Avon, where, as vicar, on 26 April 1564, he baptized William Shakespeare.

An old timber mansion, Baguley Hall, still stands as a landmark of Bretchgirdle's youth, but nothing is known of his parentage. He went to Oxford in or about the year 1540, to that nest of Protestant heresy, Christ Church.[1] He and a fellow-student, who was probably also a fellow-countryman, John Sankey, 'supplicated' for their B.A. in March 1544; were 'admitted' upon the same day, 7 April; and, after being twice 'dispensed' in the Michaelmas term, 'determined' together in

[1] Wolsey's 'Cardinal College', which from the outset was frequented by men of Reformationist principles. See the story of Dalaber in Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*.

1545. These facts are recorded in successive entries in the University Register.[1] Sankey apparently left Oxford for the Church in 1545, to become in time Protestant parson of Shalston in Buckinghamshire;[2] but Bretchgirdle remained at Christ Church until 1547, taking his M.A. degree on 11 July 1546, and then, in or about 1548, returned to his native country as perpetual curate at Witton *cum* Twembrooke near Northwich.[3] At Witton was a school attended by boys from Northwich. Bretchgirdle was master of this school as well as perpetual curate of the parish. So we learn from Latin poems addressed to him by a grateful pupil, John Brownsword. In one of these poems the author speaks of having benefited for twelve years and twelve lunar months from his master's 'piety, perpetually resounding in his ear', and 'the chaste simplicity of his learned breast', and his 'diligent study, putting to flight the shadows of loathsome error'.[4] Others trade over seas, flying from poverty but also from the security of home; others engage in war or ambitious projects, in crime or popular applause; but his is the fame the Muses give, which neither greed nor oblivion can take away. He follows on the right hand steadfastly the path of 'Justice, who knows no vices as she flies the liquid skies'.[5] 'Happy the man who is strong to resist the blandishments of Venus! And happy the boy who submits to such a master's rod, and bears his yoke, and passes (his) early years under his tuition!'[6] In another poem Brownsword urges the Northwich youth to 'honour and love their master, who

[1] Boase, 208.
[2] See Bretchgirdle's will, 20 June 1565, pp. 25, 27.
[3] Ormerod, *Cheshire*, iii. 156.
[4] P. 38.
[5] *Astraeae vitiis cedere nesciae*
Coelum dum liquidum rapit.
[6] *Felix ille tuae qui ferulae manus*
Submittit teneras et tolerat piae
Vitam militiae qui virides tuo
Annos transigit in sinu.

deserves so well of them, making it his constant care to crucify fierce manners and file them smooth'[1]—an indication that Bretchgirdle, like a good Calvinist, could use the rod when he thought an extra dose of original sin demanded it.

In 1550 Bretchgirdle leased, for the term of his own life, from Sir Thomas Venables of Kinderton, a house and croft and half an acre of land adjoining the Witton 'chapel-yard', and spent upon repairs and a new chamber, which may have been a schoolroom, £20 and more—the equivalent of £250 to-day. In such expenditure, probably, he was not sufficiently watchful of his rights. Here, unmarried, but looked after by one or more sisters, among his boys and books, with a horse to ride when he visited distant parishioners, he lived for about seven years —years of King Edward and Queen Mary—until, shortly before Mary's death, his school became (by the liberality of John Deane) the Free School of Witton and himself the first master of the foundation, with a 'lodging' in the newly erected premises. About the same time he was appointed vicar to the neighbouring parish, one of the largest in England, of Great Budworth. His presentation is dated 14 November 1558; Queen Mary died on the 17th of that month; and on 4 December, when Queen Elizabeth had ascended the throne, he was instituted in his new charge. The living was the gift of his College of Christ Church at Oxford.

He continued, however, to teach and reside at Witton, and before long he resigned Budworth, where his successor was appointed on 19 May 1560. Stirring events called him into the Midlands. Who was the means of his coming to Stratford, we can only conjecture. He had a kinsman there in Master John Grantham, of whom very little is known. He had also a warm

[1] *Qui feros cura meditatur omni*
Atque acri mores cruciare lima:
Ore Norvicum placido, erudito
Ore reformans.

friend in Alderman William Smith, farmer of the College tithes, and paymaster at this time, under the Corporation, of the vicar's and curate's salaries. Alderman Smith was brother-in-law of John Watson, the Chancellor of St. Paul's and, early in Elizabeth's reign, Master of Holy Cross at Winchester. Bretchgirdle may have known John Watson at Oxford, as a Fellow of All Souls and a Master of Arts of less than two years his senior. Be that as it may, Stratford parish was in difficulties and in need of a wise Protestant leader. The Romanist vicar, Roger Dyos, had been practically dismissed by Alderman Smith and the Corporation. He was Queen Mary's nominee, and had not been *persona grata*. Half-a-year's salary was owing to him at his entrance into the vicarage, and a further year's salary was unpaid at Michaelmas 1559. Two justices in the neighbourhood, Sir Robert Throgmorton of Coughton and Sir Edward Greville of Milcote, remonstrated in vain on his behalf.[1] The parishioners, in these days of change and freedom, held the purse-strings, and Dyos had to go. His curate was already dead, his burial being recorded in the Register of 1559: 'January 31 William Brogden, *priest*.' This was the last *priest* entered in the registers. Henceforth for a long period the common name for vicar and curate was *minister*.[2]

Early in the year 1561 John Bretchgirdle arrived in Stratford. His presentation to the vicarage of Stratford is dated 28 January 1561. On 27 February he was officially admitted to his charge in virtue of a commission to Master Richard Cheyney, rector of Hampton Lucy. Behind these proceedings were more than Alderman Smith and the Corporation. They had the approval, beyond question, of Thomas Lucy and the expectant House of Dudley, and, of course, the new Protestant Bishop of Worcester, Edwin Sandys.

[1] See their letter of 14 Oct. 1559, p. 84. William Clopton must have been a powerful supporter of Dyos. He died 4 Jan. 1560.
[2] Once in 1564 there is *sacerdos*.

From February 1561, then, at the latest, until his untimely death in the summer of 1565, John Bretchgirdle was head of the parish of Stratford, helping to shape the life of the town in the difficult, divided, contentious days of transition from Roman Catholicism to Protestantism. The Prayer Book was introduced, stained glass was removed from the church and chapel, frescoes were whitewashed, and carvings hacked. Feeling ran high. Cases of assault and drawing of blood were dealt with at the Courts-leet of October 1560 and May 1561. Men of good family or position in the town fought in the streets and taverns—Thomas Trussell, Thomas and Edward Walford, John Lane, John Grantham (the vicar's kinsman), Alderman Rafe Cawdrey, Thomas Dickson of the 'Swan Inn'. Households were divided, and brothers were at variance.

In these days John Shakespeare served as a Constable and helped to keep the peace. He came in for 'opprobrious words and reviling' uttered against the officers. In October 1561 he was promoted to be a Chamberlain, and entered on a period of signal service to the borough. From October 1562 to October 1565 he was the acting Chamberlain, busy in carrying out an extensive scheme of repairs and improvements in the Corporation property. He overhauled the vicar's house, making it thoroughly habitable—rebuilding the central chimney, tiling the roof, restoring the timber, claying and sanding the kitchen floor, spending upon the house at one time no less than £6 15*s.* 5*d.*—well over £70 in our money. Then he protestantized the Gild Chapel, 'defacing images', 'taking down the rood-loft', 'making seats' and a communion-table. Next, he put the school, and master's house, and the almshouse in order, re-roofing them all. He made also a pinfold on the Chapel premises, and obtained the Chapel orchard with its dovecote for the use of the members of the Council. The Corporation had reason to be grateful to him, and on 5 July 1565 they made him an alderman.

In these and other works vicar and chamberlain must often have met. They were probably of one mind, stout Protestants and men of public spirit, setting the good of the town before their own advantage. Several times John Shakespeare lent money to the Chamber, receiving no interest and waiting a considerable period for repayment—i.e. 25*s.* 8*d.*, £3 2*s.* 7½*d.*, and 7*s.* 3*d.*: in all £4 15*s.* 6½*d.*, or upwards of £60 in our money, no despicable sum to a man of business who could only borrow with difficulty at 10 per cent.

Twice John Shakespeare brought a child to John Bretchgirdle to be baptized, and once to be buried. A christening was an important family function, attended by godparents and friends as well as the father and the nurse. The mother, on the other hand, was rarely present, the interval between birth and baptism being very short. On Wednesday, 2 December 1562, a little procession followed baby Margaret Shakespeare from Henley Street through the town to the parish church. The ceremony differed in several respects from that of four years previously, when the first-born of John Shakespeare and Mary Arden was christened *Joan* by the Romanist vicar, Roger Dyos—probably after and in the presence of her aunt, Mary Arden's sister, Joan Lambert of Barton-on-the-Heath. Then, part of the service was in the porch, some of it was in Latin, and the infant was both dipped and anointed with chrism. Now all was in English and at the font, and the anointing was omitted; and Master Bretchgirdle concluded with an exhortation to the godfathers and godmothers, in which he urged them, among other things, to call upon the child, so soon as she shall be able, 'to hear sermons'.[1] Margaret was probably named after her aunt, Margaret Arden, who married Alexander Webbe of Bearley.[2] But the following spring this child died,

[1] *The Prayer Book of Queen Elizabeth*, 1559: The Ministration of Baptism.

[2] Now living in John Shakespeare's old home at Snitterfield.

and on 30 April 1563 another and a sad procession wended its way to her grave. Again, exactly, almost a year afterwards, on 26 April 1564, John Shakespeare followed his third child and first son to church, and named him after some friend—probably his neighbour in Henley Street and colleague as a principal burgess on the Council, William Smith the haberdasher—*William*. William Smith, like John Shakespeare, was making his way in business and public confidence, was conspicuous for his independence of character, and a father of sons, contemporaries of William Shakespeare, who became leading and well-to-do townsmen. Moreover, whereas John Shakespeare named his first son William, William Smith named his first son *John*.[1]

Another link between the chamberlain and the vicar was the Plague. It had been brought from Havre to London, and thence into the Midlands by the troops of the Earl of Warwick. When it ceased in London in January 1564, it raged in the provinces. It was at Leicester towards the end of June, and about the same time at Coventry, where it was serious. On 11 July it broke out virulently in Stratford. '*Hic incepit pestis*' are the words written by John Bretchgirdle in the Burial Register of this date. From January to 11 July there had been 21 interments. From 11 to 31 July there were 17. In August there were 35; in September, 84; in October, 58; in November, 26; and in December, 18. Whole households perished, mostly of the poorer folk, but well-to-do homes suffered. Alderman Smith lost his sister-in-law, Mistress Watson, at the College. The Town-Clerk buried two children, and Master Rafe Hilton, the curate, three. The vicar, who had his private troubles (he lost his sister Cicily in March, and heard that his landlord, who was 'not favourable to True Religion', had seized his house at Witton at Whitsuntide), found his hands full.

[1] William Smith was this year the junior of the two Chamberlains for whom John Shakespeare was acting.

John Shakespeare's accounts show payments for extra ministerial services:—

'Item paid to Master Vicar £1 7*s.* 0*d.*
Item paid for a priest's board and his drinkings at the "Swan" 11*s.* 6*d.*
Item paid to the preacher £2 10*s.* 0*d.*
Item paid to the same preacher £1 0*s.* 0*d.*
Item paid to Master Vicar 6*s.* 8*d.*'

To avoid infection the Borough Council held their meetings in the orchard, which John Shakespeare had secured for their use. 'At the Hall holden in our Garden', runs the minute of 30 August 1564, 'money was paid towards the relief of the poor'—i.e. the sufferers from the pestilence. Members were assessed according to their means: Master Bott of New Place, at 4*s.*; the Bailiff, George Whateley, at 3*s.* 4*d.*; the Chief Alderman, Roger Sadler, at 2*s.* 8*d.*; Alderman Smith, Adrian Quyney, John Wheeler, and Robert Perrott, at 2*s.* 6*d.*; Alderman Rafe Cawdrey and five others, at 2*s.*; John Shakespeare and five more, at 1*s.*; John Tayler and three others, at 8*d.*; Alderman Brat at 6*d.*; and William Smith, the corviser, at 4*d.* The Town Clerk, Richard Symonds, who this day attended the funeral of his son and daughter, is not rated. There were further levies on 6 and 27 September, when payments varied from 18*d.* to 4*d.* On each occasion John Shakespeare contributed 6*d.* At a fourth levy on 20 October he gave 8*d.* For safety the local Court of Record suspended its sittings during September. What happened in the school it is not easy to trace. Probably it was closed for some months on account of the sickness and for repairs. And there was a change of head master. Some years before, Bretchgirdle had received from his old pupil, John Brownsword, a Latin poem in which the latter complained of his scanty leisure and circumscribed lot, and vain struggles with poverty and competitors. This was written, apparently, at Christmas, 1560, on the eve of Brownsword's promotion

from the mastership of Wilmslow to that of Macclesfield.[1] Probably to be near Bretchgirdle, he came to Warwick, where he was schoolmaster at the Old Burgess Hall (now Leicester Hospital) for the half-year 29 September 1564 to 25 March 1565.[2] Bretchgirdle now sought and obtained for him the mastership of Stratford. There was an increase of salary by the change from £13 6*s*. 8*d*. to £20. Accordingly, on Sunday, 1 April 1565, Brownsword signed an agreement with the bailiff and burgesses to 'serve in their Free School, as a good and diligent schoolmaster ought to do, for the term of two years from the date above said . . . in consideration of the sum of £20 yearly and his dwelling-house'; and it was further covenanted 'that if he shall fortune at the end of the said two years or at any time after to mislike with anything and mind to give over, and to teach no more within the said Borough, then he shall give warning and shall serve for the space of one quarter of a year freely without taking any wages or else pay to the Chamberlains £5 for that they have been at charges in placing of him, his wife and his goods'. To John Shakespeare, then, fell the task of bringing Master and Mistress Brownsword, and their goods, to Stratford from Warwick, as well as making their house water-tight.

The vicar's house in Church Street and the schoolmaster's *camera* in the Chapel precinct[3] were within a few yards of each other. The two friends must have looked forward to happy co-operation. But in three months John Bretchgirdle was dead. He made his will on 20 June 1565, and next day he was buried.

[1] 'John Brownsward, now schoolmaster of Wilmslow, *grammaticus*, is elected to be the Headmaster, 30 Jan. 1560/1' (Macclesfield).

[2] As we learn from an entry in the Burgess Account made by John Fisher on 15 Dec. 1565 (transcribed by Mr. T. Kemp of Warwick), and from Brownsword's agreement with the Stratford Chamber. At Warwick, Brownsword followed John Skerrow, and was succeeded by the Puritan, Ralph Griffin.

[3] Perhaps, as a married man, he occupied the old schoolhouse for his dwelling, as Alexander Aspinall did afterwards.

'June 21, Johannes Bretchgirdle, Vicarius', is the entry in the register. The will is interesting:

'I commend my soul unto the hands of God, to be received of His fatherly goodness unto the fruition of His heavenly kingdom through the merits of our Saviour Jesus Christ; and I bequeath my body to Christian burial[1] in the parish church or churchyard where I shall decease. And I bequeath to the church where my body shall be buried 6*s*. 8*d*.[2] for breaking of the ground for my burial, and to the Poor Man's chest of the same parish, 6*s*. 8*d*.'

He remembers the poor of Baguley, of Witton, and of Great Budworth, and bequeaths 40*s*. 'to be a stock for the Almsfolk of Stratford to be employed by the Chamberlains for the use of the said Almsfolk', with 10*s*. to be distributed among the poor of Stratford. To his sister Maude goes his best gown and round cloak, his best bedding and two best silver spoons; to his sister Elizabeth, wife of John Finlowe, his gown of Bristowe frieze, his cloak with sleeves, and his second bedding. A cousin, Richard Goodwin, receives his wearing apparel and carpentering tools. Bequests of books show his interest in education, his Protestant principles, and his love of music.

Gifts to the sons and step-daughters of Alderman Smith point to close friendship between the vicarage and *The New House*, and suggest that he was tutor to the boys. A tenant and a debtor are not forgotten, and a foundling child is not overlooked: 'Item. I give to the poor foundling that William Stubbs doth keep, 5*s*.'

What he has spent on building at the Vicar's House is to remain for the commodity of his successors. As his executor he appoints, 'for that great trust he has in him', his cousin, John Grantham of Stratford-upon-Avon, to whom he leaves his coffer with the plate lock, his writing-desk, coffers without locks in the loft, and 20*s*. owing from Roger Atkins. For wit-

[1] Cf. *Hamlet*, v. i. 1, 5.
[2] The regular payment for an interment within the church.

nesses he has 'caused to be called' Alderman Smith, mercer, Alderman Adrian Quyney, mercer, John Sadler, miller, Robert Salisbury, brewer, and others.

The inventory made on 30 June by Quyney, Sadler, and Roger Bragg, with others, adds little to our knowledge of the vicar's bachelor establishment. He had a handsome clock, books valued at £10, and two cows. He was not Puritan enough to object to the square cap, three of these being found among his effects and valued, with 'two night-caps of cloth', at 4*s*.[1]

John Brownsword served his two years, and possibly a third, in Stratford, and then returned to Macclesfield, where he was head master until 1588. He died on 15 April 1589, greatly respected, as his monument in Macclesfield church testifies. This, a brass plate, was put up by a pupil, Thomas Newton of Butley, who, in 1590, published his Latin verse under the title *Joannis Macclesfeldensis Gymnasiarchae Progymnasmata quaedam Poetica*. A copy, a thin quarto of 56 pp., is in the British Museum (1213 l. 39).

6. THE WILL AND INVENTORY OF JOHN BRETCHGIRDLE

(*a*) *The Will* 20 *June* 1565

IN the name of God Amen the xxth day of June in the yeare of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christe 1565 & in the seuenthe yeare of the Raigne of our soveraigne Lady Elyzabethe by the grace of God Quene of England ffraunce & Irelande Defendor of the faithe &c. I John bretchegyrdle Clercke Vicare of Stretford vpon Avon within the Cowntie of Warwick whiche am at this present visited with the hand of God howbehitt of Good and perfyt memorie thankes be vnto God being desyrowes to be in Redinese agaynste the vncerten owre of

[1] Both the Will and Inventory were unearthed and transcribed by the late Mr. Richard Savage of Stratford-upon-Avon, who lent me his copies.

deathe[1] Make my laste wyll & testamente in manor and forme folowynge ffyrste I comend my sowle vnto the handes of God to be Receiued of his fatherly goodnese vnto the fruicion of his heauenlye Kyngdom throwghe the merittes of our saviour Jesus Christe And I bequethe my bodye to Christen buriall in the parishe Churche or churche yarde wher I shall dessease[2] And I bequethe to the Churche where my bodye shalbe buried vj^{s} viij^{d}[3] for breakyng of the grownde for my buriall and to the poore mans Cheste of the same parishe vj^{s} viij^{d} I bequethe to my suster Mawde[4] my beste gowne my Rownde Cloake or the prise therof in Money at hyr election or choyse my fetharbed my beste Matteris my iij beste whytte blanckettes my newest bedcoueryng of tapestry woorcke / a bolstar and a pelowe / & ij peare of my beste flaxen shettes & my ij beste sylvar spoones / And I gyue and bequethe to my suster Elyzabethe wyffe of John fynlowe / my Gowne of brystowe[5] frysse my Clooke w^{t} sleves or the prise of these parcelles in Money / my second Matteris one blanckett / my old lardge coverynge of tapestrye woorcke & one peare of sheates / & I bequethe to my cosyn Rychard Gooden my beste Jackett dublett & hosen / ij of my beaste shurtes ij of my beste peare of shewes my felte hatte & ij beste nyghte Cappes / & also my Iron tooles of Carpentrye[6] / or the prise of these parcles in Money / And of all the money he owethe me I for gyue hym the halfe / & chardge hym to bestowe the other halfe vpon Reparyng hyghe wayes / wheare

[1] The Will was probably drawn up by himself some time before, and only signed on 20 June 1565, the day before the funeral.

[2] No doubt he was buried within the Church, the plague having departed.

[3] See p. 22 note 2.

[4] We hear of three sisters—Cicily, Maude, and Elizabeth. The burial of the first at Stratford is thus entered by her brother in the Register: '1563/4 Mar. 14 Sicilia Bretchgerdle soror Vicarij.'

[5] Bristowe (Bristol).

[6] He was interested in carpentry and building. He built a chamber at Witton (p. 15) and made improvements at the Vicar's House in Church Street, Stratford.

moste nyde[1] is within a myle of his howse / And I bequethe iij[li] vj[s] viij[d] to be distributed amonge my poore kynsfolckes sustars Chyldren accordyng to thare nessecitie / I bequethe vj[s] viij[d] amonge the poorest folcke of the Lordshype of baguley / where I was borne[2] / & vj[s] viij[d] amonge the poorest of wytton parishe[3] / & vj[s] viij[d] amonge the pooreste of greate budwoorthe parishe[4] / And I bequethe xl[s] to be a stocke for the almes folcke of stretford to be Employed by the Chamburleynes from tyme to tyme / for the [use] of the said almes folcke / And x[s] to be delte amongeste the other pooreste of the said stretford / And I bequethe my Clocke & unio dissidentium[5] to John sanckye Clercke parson of shalston[6] / Also I bequethe vnto m[r] brownsworde scole m[r] of stretford[7] volfegangus musculus vpon Matthewe[8] / & Homilee Nausee[9] / Item I bequethe to the comon vse of the scolars of the free scole of stretford vpon Avon[10] my Elyottes lybrarie of Coopers Castigacion[11] Item I bequethe vnto

[1] need. [2] P. 13. [3] P. 14. f. [4] P. 15.

[5] *Unio Dissidentium: Libellus ex praecipuis Ecclesiae Christianae doctoribus selectus per venerabilem patrem Herman. Bodium.* The Union of Dissidents, or as the book was usually called 'The Union of Doctors', a selection from the writings of the Fathers of the Church (Ambrose, Augustine, &c.), Bede, and others, showing their Protestant opinions on original sin, infant baptism, predestination, justification by faith, and so forth. It was a heretical book, feared and hated by the Romanists almost as much as Tyndale's *New Testament in English*. Oxford students got into trouble for possessing copies in March 1528. See Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* (the exciting story of Anthony Dalaber).

[6] Bretchgirdle's fellow-student at Oxford. Their names appear in successive entries in the University Register (Boase 208). They were admitted to their B.A. on the same day, 7 Apr. 1544, and graduated together. Sankey was rector of Wood Norton in 1553, of Shalston, Bucks. in 1560 and Finmere, Co. Oxford the same year. He died in 1580.

[7] His old pupil at Witton, and since 25 Mar. 1565 schoolmaster at Stratford. See pp. 14 f., 20 f.

[8] *In Evangelistam Matthaeum Commentarii*, 1548, folio.

[9] *Frederici Nauseae Blancicampiani* [Bishop of Vienna] *Tres Evangelicae Veritatis Homiliarum Centuriae*, Cologne, 1530–1534, folio.

[10] A bequest that shows his interest in education, and in the school of which his friend was now head.

[11] A revision of Sir Thomas Eliot's Latin-English Dictionary by

my frende Robart bendbowe Vicare of Horley [1] the iiij synging bookes that I bowght of hym / & the other iiij synging bookes for service in the Churche / & to thomas bendbowe his sone parson of Wapnam [2] / Margarita theologica bothe in Laten and Englyshe [3] / Item I bequethe to the Chyldren of M[r] Smithes [4] as heare folowethe / to Wyllam [5] Apothegmata in laten [6] / and Isope [7] fables / to his brother Rychard [8] David salmes [9] / & the Actes of the aposteles bothe in Englyshe meter [10] / And one of my Copies verborum [11] / To Robart [12] smithe my

Thomas Cooper, Master of Magdalen School, Oxford, which was published as a folio in 1552 under the title '*Bibliotheca Eliotae*: Eliot's Dictionary, the second time enriched and more perfectly corrected, by Thomas Cooper. *In aedibus T. Bertheleti, Londini*'. The author says in a 'Proheme' to King Edward, 'When I had achieved my labours in *castigating* and augmenting this Dictionary' &c.

[1] In the union of Banbury, Co. Oxford.

[2] Near Towcester, Co. Northampton. Thomas Bendbow had just been instituted (on 29 May) in his rectory.

[3] By John Spangenberg, Leipzig, 1548. English translation by Richard Hutten, with the title *The Sum of Divinity*, 1548.

[4] Pp. 15 f., 19, 22, 55–61. [5] Born *c.* 1553.

[6] Probably *Apophthegmata Erasmi*. Possibly a school-book by Conrad Lycosthenes, a collection of notable sayings, published at Basle in 1555.

[7] *Aesopi Fabulae*, of which there were various editions and selections for school use.

[8] Richard Smith, born about 1555, went to Oxford, to Bretchgirdle's old College of Christ Church, matriculating in 1572, and entered the Church, to become Vicar of Watcombe in the Isle of Wight.

[9] Sternhold and Hopkins 1564.

[10] '*The Acts of the Apostles translated into English Metre*, and dedicated to the King's most excellent Majesty by Christopher Tye, Doctor in Music, and one of the Gentlemen of his Grace's most honourable Chapel; with Notes to each Chapter to sing, and also to play upon the Lute; very necessary for Students after their study to file their wits, and also for all Christians that cannot sing to read the good and godly stories of the Lives of Christ his Apostles, 1553.' Col. '*Imprinted at London, by Nicholas Hill for William Seres. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.*

[11] The *Copia Verborum* was a Latin phrase-book compiled by Erasmus for the use of Dean Colet's School of St. Paul's in London in 1511. *Copies Verborum* is probably *Copiae-s Verborum*.

[12] Baptized 1 June 1559. He died before his father made his Will on 4 Dec. 1578. See p. 59.

tullies ofices in Englyshe [1] & the actes of the apostelles in Englysh meter [2] / to thomas [3] smithe an other of my bookes the actes of the apostelles in Englysh meter [2] also / to John [4] smithe saluste texte & Justine [5] / to Wyllam smithe the yongest sonne [6] & to Alece Savage [7] & hyr sustar Elyzabethe to euerye of them xij^{d} [8] / Item I gyue to my God sonne Edward Wynnyngton [9] my trye lingua lexicon grecum [10] & to his brother Hewe Wynnyngton I gyue my Josephum de antiquitatibus Judeorum bello [11] & to my godsonne George Marson my vergyll with comentt & horas [12] with comentt also / and I gyue to my godsonne Robart Venables [13] my Encheridion in Englyshe and laten [14] / Item I gyue to the poore fondlyng that Wyllam stubbes [15] dothe kepe v^{s} / Item I gyue vnto Christofer sanckye [16] Tullies offices texte of the lardgeste volume / & also vlettes dictionarie [17] / and to his brother Wyllam a shorte dictionarie for yonge begynners [18] Also

[1] Tully's *Offices*.
[2] See note 10 on p. 26.
[3] Baptized by Bretchgirdle on 11 Nov. 1563.
[4] Born about 1557. See pp. 59, 61, 76 f.
[5] Sallust text and Justine.
[6] Baptized by Bretchgirdle 22 Nov. 1564. It was not very unusual for fathers to name more than one son after themselves.
[7] P. 57.
[8] A shilling piece, worth more than half a sovereign in our money.
[9] Of Northwich.
[10] *Trilingua Lexicon Graecum.*
[11] *De Antiquitatibus Iudaicis* and *de Bello Iudaico*. Hugh Winnington of Northwich died in 1607: see Irvine's Index to Wills of the Diocese of Chester.
[12] 'Vergil with comment and Horace with comment also'. George Marson was probably of Northwich.
[13] Probably the son of Sir Thomas Venables of Kinderton.
[14] Probably the *Encheiridion Militis Christiani* (or 'Manual of a Christian Knight') by Erasmus, translated into English by William Tyndale.
[15] Probably of Northwich. The name does not occur in the Stratford registers.
[16] Probably the son of his friend John Sankey of Shalston: see above pp. 14, 25.
[17] *Abcedarium Anglico-Latinum pro tyrunculis Ricardo Huloets exscriptore*. Lond., *in officina Gulielmi Riddell*, 1552, folio.
[18] John Withals: *A Short Dictionary for Young Beginners*, 1556 (English and Latin).

I gyue vnto my Cosyn John Grantam[1] my Coffer with the plate locke & my wryttyng deske & my Cooffers withoute lockes that stand in my loftes / & all the Lockes & Kayes that be vnoccupied / Also I wyll that if John peate[2] well and trewlye kepe his day of payment of the dett specifyed in a byll of his hand / that then the halfe of the whol dett shalbe forgeuen hym / And I forgyue my tenante John Gray[3] a quarters Rent if he be so much in my dett at the tyme of my deathe / leavyng the howse sufficientlye repared / & I wyll that none of all those Legacies be delyuared before my deathe / And then my Executor to make delyuerye with convenyent Expedicion ffinallye all the Legasyes & my dettes paide & my Corpes honestelye browght home[4] / the Reste of all my gooddes vnbequethed I wyll to be solde / & the money that shall aryse therof to be bestowed amonge the poore of my kynsfolckes And vpon other good woorckes Charitie at the discression of my Executor / And I wyll that the dettes whiche are owying me at this present be gathered in and to be bestowed as is said before / And I wyll that if anye man wyll redeme my leasses[5] he shall haue them x^s vnder I paide / I constitute orden & make myne Executor for that greate truste I haue in hym my Cosyn John Grantam of stretford vpon Avon[6] / & for the trewe Execucon of this my laste Wyll & testament I wyll that he haue for his payines the xx^s that Rotger atkyns[7] owethe vnto

[1] Of Stratford, a kinsman of Bretchgirdle, whom he appoints executor of this Will: see p. 15.
[2] Of Stratford. He and his wife Joan were buried the same day, 19 Feb. 1588.
[3] *Alias* Hely, of Stratford, a chandler and tippler. He was tenant of the house in Church Street which Bretchgirdle held on lease from the Corporation at a rent of 8*s*. per annum.
[4] Tobit XIV. 10: 'And burie me honestly.' (Geneva Version.)
[5] His lease at Witton expired at his death.
[6] He was buried on 29 Nov. 1587, after the interment of his son George on 30 Oct. previously.
[7] Of Stratford. Bretchgirdle had buried his wife on 11 Sept. 1562: 'Margarita vxor Rogeri Atkyns'.

me / provyded alwayes that all the buldyng I haue bestowed coste vpon Remayne as hit is for the commodities of the vicares of stretford from tyme to tyme[1] In wytnese wherof to these presentes my laste wyll / I haue caused to be called to be as wytnesses to the premisses these persones whose names do folowe / Wyllam smithe of stretford mercer[2] Adryan Quynye of stretford mercer[3] / John sadler of stretford mylner[4] / & Robart sawlsburie of stretford bruar[5] / with others.

(*b*) *The Inventory* 30 *June* (*or* 1 *July*) 1565.

An Inventorie of all the gooddes & Cattell of John bretchegyrdle / late vicare of stretford vpon Avon[6] / taken the xxxjth day of June[7] ~ 1565 / & praysed by Adryan Quynye John sadler & Rotger bragge[8] all of stretford aforesaid w^{t} others.

Imprimis j fether bed iij matterisses & j bolstar v blanckettes / iij pare of shetes / & iiij bed coverynges p^{r}sed[9]	. .	xxviij^{s}
Itm j longe Gowne[10] p^{r}se		xiij^{s} iiij^{d}

[1] Expenditure on the Vicar's House. [2] See p. 26, note 4.
[3] A leading townsman and friend of John Shakespeare. He had served as Bailiff in 1559/60, and High Alderman in 1562/3. He was to be Bailiff again in 1571/2, when John Shakespeare would be his colleague as High Alderman: see p. 87 f. The two families were closely connected for at least three generations. See *Master Richard Quyny*.
[4] Another leading Stratford man and friend of John Shakespeare. He was a Principal Burgess. In 1570/1 he served as Bailiff.
[5] A Capital Burgess, living in Church Street. He served as Bailiff in 1569/70. [6] Buried 21 June.
[7] A curious slip. The 30 June was Saturday. The next day was perhaps more convenient for business men. The Sabbath was not yet very strictly observed.
[8] A chandler, who lived until 1598 (being buried that year on 6 June).
[9] 'Prised.' The bedding went to the two sisters of the testator, Maude Bretchgirdle and Elizabeth Finlowe. The 'bed coverings' are interesting. They were curtains for four-poster bedsteads. 'My newest bedcovering of tapestry-work' is for the former lady, who probably lived with him; 'my old large covering of tapestry-work' is for the married sister. [10] Bequeathed to Maude Bretchgirdle.

Itm j other Gowne of brystowe frysse[1] . . vj^{s} viij^{d}
Itm j shorte Clooke w^{t} sleves[1] p^{r}se . . . v^{s}
Itm j other shorte Clooke[2] p^{r}se . . . . x^{s}
Itm j worsted Jackett[3] p^{r}se . . . . iij^{s} iiij^{d}
Itm j Clothe Jackett p^{r}se . . . . . iij^{s} iiij^{d}
Itm j frysse Jackett p^{r}se . . . . . iij^{s} iiij^{d}
Itm j worsted dublett p^{r}se . . . . . ij^{s} vj^{d}
Itm j dublett of fustyan p^{r}se . . . . ij^{s}
Itm j Cloth dublett p^{r}se . . . . . xij^{d}
Itm j peare of hosen p^{r}se . . . . . xx^{d}
Itm j peare of hosen p^{r}se . . . . ij^{s} iiij^{d}
Itm ij kyne pryse . . . . . liij^{s} iiij^{d}
Itm in bookes[4] p^{r}se . . . . . x^{li}
Itm j Clocke[5] p^{r}se . . . . . xxvj^{s} viij^{d}
Itm j Table w^{t} trestelles p^{r}se . . . . iiij^{s}
Itm in woodde & Colles . . . . . xl^{s}
Itm in pewtar p^{r}se . . . . . vij^{s}
Itm j brasse potte p^{r}se . . . . . x^{s}
Itm j brasse potte p^{r}se . . . . . vj^{s} viij^{d}
Itm j brasse pott & j lyttell dabnett[6] p^{r}se . . vj^{s} viij^{d}
Itm iij lyttell kettelles p^{r}se . . . . iij^{s} iiij^{d}
Itm iij pewtar pottes j Chaffyngdyshe[7] & iij Candelstickes p^{r}se . . viij^{s}

[1] Bequeathed to Elizabeth Finlowe.
[2] Bequeathed to Maude Bretchgirdle.
[3] Bequeathed to Richard Gooden. Some of the articles bequeathed do not appear. The Inventory was rarely complete, being usually thought sufficient if it well covered in value the amount of the legacies. On the other hand, the very modest amount of furniture in the list suggests that the Vicar's house contained a certain number of articles that belonged to the house and to the minister for the time being. Four-post bedsteads were often fixtures.
[4] It is a misfortune that they were not catalogued, those mentioned in the Will being of such extraordinary interest.
[5] The high price given to this Clock proves that it was a handsome one, probably of the 'grandfather' type.
[6] A pot with a handle usually of brass.
[7] A dish to hold a charcoal fire.

Itm in Toolles of Carpentrye & of husbandrye . vj^{s} viij^{d}
Itm iij square Cappes[1] & ij nyght Cappes of Clothe[2] p^{r}se . . . iiij^{s}
Itm ij sylvar spoones p^{r}se . . . . . iiij^{s}
23^{li} 2^{s} 8^{d} by me Adryan quynee
by me John sadlar
by me Roger brage.

[Worcester Wills and Inventories, 1565.]

7. JOHN BROWNSWORD: POET AND SCHOOLMASTER AT STRATFORD-UPON-AVON

THE Will and Inventory of John Bretchgirdle, the minister who baptized Shakespeare, throw interesting light not only on this hitherto almost unknown clergyman and schoolmaster, but on his pupil and friend, also a schoolmaster, and master of the Stratford School for two and a half years in Shakespeare's childhood—the Latinist poet, John Brownsword.

Apparently he was a native of Northwich or the immediate neighbourhood, and at an early age was one of Bretchgirdle's first scholars at Witton. Bretchgirdle incepted for his Master of Arts degree on 11 July 1546. On 11 December following, King Henry VIII made a grant to Christ Church, Oxford, of the rectory of Great Budworth, including the perpetual curacy of Witton-cum-Twembrook. Bretchgirdle was still on the list of the Christ Church students on 14 January 1547. Soon afterwards, in 1547, he was presented by his College to the curacy of Witton. The vicar of Great Budworth was then William Hardware. At Witton, 'about the third year of the reign of

[1] College caps worn by clergymen. Extreme Protestants objected to them on the ground that their heads were round.
[2] People believed in keeping their heads hot at night, their bed curtains drawn and, worst of all, their windows shut.

Edward VI'—1549–50—Bretchgirdle obtained his lease for life from Sir Thomas Venables of Kinderton, lord of the manor, of a messuage, a croft, and half an acre of land 'lying and adjoining the Chapel yard', for his house and school; and, entering into the premises, he 'peaceably and quietly occupied and enjoyed the same by the space of seven years', during which term he 'did upon his own costs and charges newly erect and build upon the premises a Chamber, and also amended and repaired divers other houses and buildings' thereon, at an outlay on his part of £20 and above—say £250 in our present money. The Chapel was ancient, on high ground overlooking the township 'near the bank of the Dane', and communicating with Northwich on the west by an avenue of pollards. Bretchgirdle officiated in the Chapel as a minister of Edwardian convictions, which were not those of Sir Thomas Venables, and added to his slender income by teaching boys, most of whom came from Northwich, a quarter of a mile away. In uniting the function of schoolmaster with that of curate he probably followed the example of his predecessor, the chantry-priest of Witton, Thomas Broomfield, who doubtless received a pension on the dissolution of the chantry in 1547. Broomfield was living at Northwich ten years later, engaged in the more lucrative employment of making salt, tenant of 'two-thirds of a *salina*, called a salt-house'. Chantry-priests were expected and even enjoined to instruct boys in reading and writing as well as in music, and an educated man would not confine his instruction to these subjects. Under Bretchgirdle, Brownsword became a first-rate Latin scholar.

In 1550 or the beginning of 1551 Hardware died, and on 25 January Thomas Boswell, an old fellow-student of Bretchgirdle's at Christ Church, was presented to the vicarage of Budworth. He had been admitted to his B.A. on the same day as Bretchgirdle and Sankey (7 April 1544), and he determined with them in 1545. He took his M.A. on 5 February 1548.

Bretchgirdle's seven years of 'peaceable and quiet occupation and enjoyment' of his house and land and 'Chamber' adjoining the Chapel yard at Witton were years of neighbourhood and doubtless of friendly intercourse with Thomas Boswell. Doubtless both men conformed to the changes under Queen Mary. Sir Thomas Venables was in the ascendant, and his tenant had to bide his time. If Bretchgirdle had not held his tongue he would not have enjoyed a quiet possession until 1557. And then he was disturbed, not by his landlord, but through the generous scheme of an old Northwich boy (a native of Shurlach, a mile or less from the town) to found and endow at Witton a Free Grammar School. On 26 October 1557 Dominus John Deane, a wealthy old cleric, prebendary of Lincoln and rector of St. Bartholomew the Great, Smithfield, signed and sealed a deed making over to twelve trustees property in Chester, Northwich, Peover, and elsewhere 'for the good instruction of boys within the township of Witton near Northwich'; and by Michaelmas following a schoolhouse had been erected 'in the Name of Jesus', and Statutes had been drawn up and approved, in the devising of which the founder had 'the godly and discreet advice of the learned'. Deane was less of a Reformer than Bretchgirdle; he belonged to Colet and King Henry rather than to Calvin and King Edward; he believed in purgatory and prayer for the souls of the dead. But such language as appears in his Statutes describing the old learning is sufficient evidence of his sympathy with Protestant educational ideals and prejudices: 'All barbary, all corruption and filthiness, and such abusion *which the Blind World brought in*, I utterly banish and exclude out of this school.' He had had enough, he thought, of monkish Latin and monkish morals.

The schoolhouse was a simple thatched edifice, with 'lodgings' for the master, built on land adjoining the Chapel yard. The new school was closely associated with the Chapel. The churchwardens were to be overseers with the feoffees; the

Statutes were to be read in church before the breaking-up at Easter and Christmas; and the scholars were to attend service on Sunday and Foundation Day ('upon Jesus Day in the afternoon,' i.e. 7 August, when probably the first stone of the schoolhouse was laid). The Statutes, which owe a good deal to Colet, are of extraordinary interest. The master was to be a graduate of Oxford or Cambridge, of the age of thirty or more, unmarried, and approved of the Bishop and Schoolmaster of Chester; he was to receive £12 a year and certain small 'vails', i.e. an admission fee of fourpence from every scholar, and 'on the first Thursday after the beginning of School after Christmas of every scholar a penny commonly called a Cock Penny'; he was to give notice openly in the church six months before leaving, or to have six months' notice given to him to leave; he was entitled to thirty days' vacation in the year, in addition to the Easter and Christmas holidays, provided his scholars lost no time in his absence but were exercised at their books, at his charges, until his return; he was entrusted with full power and authority to punish and expel, subject only, if correction done was thought unreasonable, 'to the feoffees and overseers for the time being'. With regard to the instruction Deane's words are:

'As touching in this School what shall be taught of the Master and learned of Scholars it passeth my wit to devise and determine in particular; but in general to speak and somewhat to say my mind, I will they were taught always the good literature both Latin and Greek, and good authors such as have the very Roman eloquence joined with wisdom, especially Christian authors that wrote their wisdom with clean and chaste Latin, either in verse or in prose; for mine intent is by founding of this School specially to increase knowledge and worship of God and our Lord Jesus Christ, and good Christian life and manners in the children. And for that intent I will the children learn the *Catechisma*, and then the *Accidence and Grammar* set out by King Henry the Eight, or some other if any can be better for the purpose, to induce children more speedily to Latin speech;

and then *Institutum Christiani Hominis* that learned Erasmus made, and then *Copia* of the same Erasmus, *Colloquia Erasmi*, *Ovidius: Metamorphoseos*, Terence, Mantuan, Tully, Horace, Sallust, Virgil and such other as shall be thought most convenient to the purpose unto true Latin speech.'

Thursdays and Saturdays were to be half-holidays, and the boys were to recreate themselves with bows and arrows,[1] not with bowls, cards, dice, or quoits. The old custom of barring-out was to be observed: 'I will that a week before Christenmas and Easter, according to the old custom, the scholars bar and keep forth of the School the Schoolmaster, in such sort as other scholars do in other schools'.[2]

How the new foundation would affect Bretchgirdle we may easily conceive. He was perpetual curate of the township and ministrant in the Chapel. He was a schoolmaster on the spot, who had spent £20 and more on his premises. To fail to recognize continuity between his work and interest and the school of Dominus John Deane is sheer scepticism. Obviously his school became the Free Grammar School of Witton and he was elected its first headmaster. Subsequent events entirely support this supposition. We may go further. It is not unreasonable to believe that Bretchgirdle welcomed the foundation, and was one of 'the learned' whose 'godly and discreet advice' was employed in the devising of the Statutes. We may believe that the future vicar of Stratford-upon-Avon, whose Will included gifts of the *Copia* and other works of Erasmus, Tully's *Offices*, Sallust, Virgil, and Horace, had a hand in drawing-up the curriculum at Witton; and that John Brownsword was trained on the lines of it from about seven years of age to nineteen, and in his last year under Bretchgirdle was his pupil in the new school, heard the Statutes read in church, and promised to be bound by them, so far as they applied to

[1] As recommended by Ascham in *Toxophilus*.
[2] *Witton Grammar School*, by John Weston, pp. 5 ff.

scholars; and afterwards at Stratford as headmaster brought to bear upon William Shakespeare's older contemporaries in the school learning and experience derived from his master at Witton, who was then, for all too brief a period, his neighbour in Church Street.

But Bretchgirdle had hardly removed into the 'lodgings' provided for the master at the Free Grammar School of Witton before he lost his neighbour, Thomas Boswell, and Christ Church presented him to the vicarage of Budworth. The presentation, made by the Dean (Richard Marshall) and the Chapter, is dated 14 November 1558. This was three days before the death of Queen Mary. Elizabeth had succeeded, and Protestant hopes were high when on Sunday 4 December the curate of Witton was instituted vicar of the mother-parish, which was one of the largest in Cheshire. The bond of this date in the Episcopal Registry bears the signature *per me Johannem Bretchgirdle clericum*.

If Bretchgirdle had known that the change of religion was so near he would probably have neither sought nor accepted the preferment. He resigned the vicarage a year and a half later. But he did not leave Witton. Brownsword says that he was under his tuition for twelve years and twelve lunar months—that is, for a period extending considerably beyond December 1558, even if Bretchgirdle began at Witton immediately after 14 January 1547. Richard Eaton was presented to Budworth on 19 May 1560. Bretchgirdle retained, apparently, both his curacy and mastership at Witton until he removed to Stratford in February 1561.

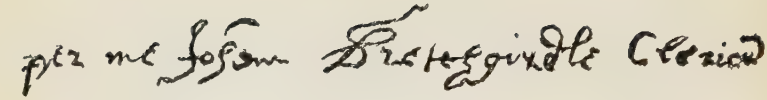
John Brownsword learned to write Latin verse under Bretchgirdle, and addressed to him three poems, one before he left Witton, the second soon after leaving Witton, and the third shortly before Christmas 1560. All three were probably received by Bretchgirdle at Witton.

The first is a school exercise, a hymn with prayer for the

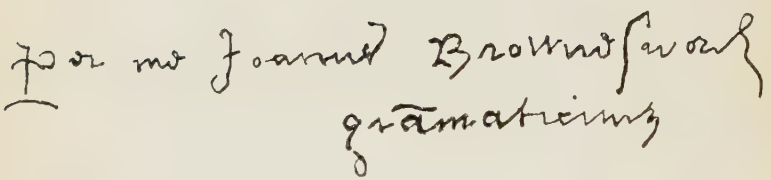
WITTON CHAPEL AND VICARAGE

(Historical Notes *by Mr. John Weston*)

a



b



a. *John Bretchgirdle's signature to his bond of admission to the vicarage of Budworth 4 December 1558*

b. *Signature of John Brownesword to a receipt at Macclesfield, 25 November 1579*

master and the scholars. It consists of twenty-one stanzas in the familiar metre of Horace's *Ode* i. 2. The prayer for the master, beginning at stanza 15, is of considerable biographical interest. It may be translated as follows:

'Be Thou near to my Bretchgirdle, aid him, stretch forth Thine hand to him; that unto Thee continually his mind may be strong and thrive whole in a whole body;

'Who, with all painfulness and a biting file, endeavoureth to crucify our brutish manners, with a calm countenance, with learned lips bringing Northwich into a better fashion.

'He giveth himself with all his heart to his seven times considered speech, and doth meditate therein both night and day.

'He exerciseth faithfully the talent of song entrusted to him, doubling the sum thereof; he committeth not in sloth the Lord's treasure to an unprofitable sepulchre.'[1]

The petition for the boys, preceded by exhortation, ends the piece:

'And thou, O youth, whom the soil of Northwich nourisheth, fear and embrace and venerate from your heart the learned Master who deserveth of thee excellently well.

'O divine Lachesis, draw out their line of life, lengthen the thread, and mindful say, "Run on, ye spindles, smoothly many years!"'

The second poem was written at Poynton in Cheshire,[2] between Stockport and Macclesfield. It contains twenty-six stanzas in the metre of Horace's *Ode* i. 6. The beginning is important:

Bis sex flammifera concitus orbita
Phœbus proripuit signa per aurea
Cursus, ac toties emicuit vaga
Accensa facie soror;

[1] Matt. xxv. 18.
[2] So I venture to interpret *Punctonensis ager*.

Nostram dum pietas perpetuo tua
Aurem personuit, castaque pectoris
Docti simplicitas, et studium tetri
Erroris tenebras fugans.

I would translate literally:

'Twice six courses hath the uproused Phoebus raced in flaming track through the golden signs, and as oft hath his wandering Sister shone with beaming face;

'While thy piety continually hath resounded in my ears, and the chaste simplicity of thy learned breast, and study putting to flight the shadows of loathsome error.'

And I understand the author to mean that for twelve whole years and twelve lunar months he has benefited from Bretchgirdle's teaching, without a break (*perpetuo*)—that is, from early in 1547 to the end of 1559 or the beginning of 1560.[1] If Brownsword then was ever at Oxford or Cambridge, it was subsequent to this latter date.[2]

He goes on:

'Others do business in the cruel deep, fugitives from the safety of poverty and home, free from care, or carry war among the nations, commit ambitious crimes, strive anxiously for popular applause; but our Master has the fame the Muses give, which neither envy nor oblivion can take from him. He keeps to the right-hand course, the steadfast path of Astraea in the sky. Faith uncorrupted possesses him and directs his steps,

[1] This agrees with *virides annos* (p. 14 n.). Cf. *Hamlet*, III. ii. 165 ff., though here the lunar time repeats the solar, not adds to it. Cf. also *All's Well* II. i. 164–9, 'little' Helena's rapturous prophecy (not the 'mechanical fustian' the Cambridge editors would have us believe):

Ere twice the horses of the Sun shall bring
Their fiery Torcher his diurnal ring—
Ere twice in murk and occidental damp
Moist Hesperus hath quenched his sleepy lamp—
Or four and twenty times the pilot's glass
Hath told the thievish minutes how they pass.

[2] Cooper.

and divine Grace dwells with him as in a temple. Happy, too happy, is he who bravely treads the blandishments of Venus underfoot.'

Bretchgirdle remained unmarried, but Brownsword, apparently, was yielding to the *dubios strepitus blandaque munera* of that deceiving goddess. Bretchgirdle is evidently at Witton:

'Happy the boy who submits his tender hands to thy rod, and endures the life of godly warfare, who spends his youthful years (*virides annos*) beneath thy care!'

Such virtues must not be passed over in silence. The writer's pipe has no merit, but Divine Mercy will accept the song, nor will his old teacher decline it.

The twenty-first stanza is autobiographical:

> *Ne qui sim maneas nescius, accipe*
> *Punctonensis ager me tenet, hic rudem*
> *Ætatem instituens, inter aves rudis*
> *Agrestes coridus strepo.*

'That thou remain not ignorant who I am, learn that Poynton hath me in its keeping; here, instructing untried youth, among wild birds an untried lark (κορυδός) I sound my rude notes.'

As he is worst of all, though his Master (for which he owes him thanks) has overwhelmed him with praise, that Master is the best of all. In this alone the writer deserves approval—he cultivates and venerates learned men, among whom, in his judgement, his Master occupies a foremost place. Bright and happy will be the day which brings them together in unity, like the dew of Hermon and the sweet ointment on the beard of the priest.[1]

The third poem is the longest. From its thirty-one stanzas we learn that Bretchgirdle, than whom none more loved breathes, is still at Witton, the glory of Northwich and the country round (*Norwici patriae decusque nostrae*), both learning

[1] Psalm cxxxiii.

and teaching, happy in the company of the Muses, with grave face poring over Zeno, Aristotle, or Socrates, walking the spacious halls of Solomon or at the shrine of the 'bearded Plato' (*colere hispidum Platona*), gathering like a bee of the sweets of antiquity or scanning the page of history, alert and soaring, ever pursuing the Master's tasks from sunrise to evening. After toil Brownsword relieves his mind with poetry. Old days are ancient as the years of Nestor; his eyes fill with tears at the thought of them, though not all the boys enjoyed their books as he did. As lovers long for the night, so he yearns for his Master's letters. Poverty checks his noble rage, while his hope of bettering himself seems desperate:

> *Sic sic ineptus munia dum sequor*
> *Majora nervis, nec pede metior*
> *Me stolidus proprio, inhonorus*
> *Fractis ludibrio relinquor armis.*

He asks his friend's support, to whom he sends a volume of verse with the request that he will overlook it and amend it. Christmas approaches, the husbandman has slain his swine, and the hard plowman fares well and dances with fearless feet.

This must have been the Christmas of 1560, for on 30 January following Brownsword was appointed master of the Free Grammar School of Macclesfield, in succession apparently to John Bolde (elected 4 January 1554). He is described on his appointment as 'now Schoolmaster of Wilmslow', whence we may assume that he went from Poynton to Wilmslow, and at this place, after a few months' service, wrote complaining of his poverty. At Wilmslow, too, he probably composed *In Civilem Mancestrensis Ecclesiae Discordiam*, 1560. The moment was one of perilous controversy between Catholics and Protestants. Had this particular *discordia* to do with the troubles and failings of the warden of Manchester College, Thomas Herle, a Queen's chaplain later suggested by Archbishop

Parker for the see of Bangor as a 'learned' and 'grave, priestly man', ready to give over 'Manchester where he now can have little rest' (12 February 1566)? Young Brownsword drops the pedant in his appeal for unity:

> *Quo, quo vesana properatis mente verendi*
> *Sacricolæ?*

'Whither, whither haste ye in unreasoning fury, O reverend ministers?' Bears are not so divided, nor Hircanean tigers. Will Judas never cease to betray Christ? One above the rest totters in brain and goes sick in his feet and knees, who had drunk eloquence from a scholar and drained the cup of his wisdom. It is Rome's doing:

> *Hoc, hoc est Latius magna mercede tyrannus*
> *Inventum mendax quodque Cathedra velit.*

'This, this is the device which the Latin tyrant with a big bribe, and his lying See, desires.

Religion groans and the motherland is wounded. Let brethren cease to contend, let hand grasp hand, that Christ's glory may shine and the trumpet of His Word resound!'

Two days before Brownsword's appointment to Macclesfield, Bretchgirdle was presented to the vicarage of Stratford. Leaving Witton, he was admitted to his new and difficult charge on 27 February 1561. Not a word is said in the record of his investiture in the Episcopal Register of his Romanist predecessor, Roger Dyos. The usual *per mortem* or *resignationem* after *vacantis* is omitted. Dyos was not dead and had not resigned. He was not in a legal sense deprived. But with the Romanist steward of the borough, Roger Edgeworth, he had been dismissed by the Corporation, who adopted the simple and effective expedient of withholding his 'wages'.

The records of Macclesfield School are silent about a break in Brownsword's tenure of office, but from the archives of

Warwick and Stratford comes evidence that he left Macclesfield for at least three years. In the account of John Fisher, capital burgess of Warwick, made 16 December 1565, for the year Michaelmas 1564 to Michaelmas 1565, are the entries: 'Brownsword, for the stipend of the Schoolmaster for one quarter ended at Christmas last, £3 6*s*. 8*d*. Humfrey Waring for his pains teaching the School for half a year from Our Lady Day till Michaelmas, £5. Griffin, now Schoolmaster, for his pains teaching the same School from Michaelmas until this next Christmas, £3 6*s*. 8*d*.' Brownsword does not appear in the account made in December 1564. He was at Warwick, as at Wilmslow, for a very short period, from Michaelmas 1564 to Our Lady Day (25 March) 1565, receiving one quarter's salary instead of two, no doubt in accordance with the terms of his engagement, which required his fulfilment of a term of years, or forfeiture of three months' pay. He left to become schoolmaster at Stratford, and the Warwick Corporation obtained the services of the curate, Humfrey Waring, for six months pending the appointment of Rafe Griffin, afterwards a Puritan preacher, and Master of the Leicester Hospital in Warwick, and eventually Dean of Lincoln, as Brownsword's successor. On or about 25 March 1565 John Shakespeare, as Chamberlain of Stratford, on behalf of his Chamber, drove over to bring Brownsword and his wife (he was now married) and their 'goods' to the new scene of his labours, and deposited them in their little house in the Chapel quad. On 1 April, in the presence of the bailiff, Master Richard Hill, woollen-draper in Wood Street, and the aldermen and principal burgesses, he covenanted to serve them and 'the whole inhabitants of the Borough' in their Free School for two years at least for £20 a year and his dwelling-house, diligently applying himself and teaching all such scholars as should come to him.

While Brownsword was at Warwick, Bretchgirdle took legal proceedings against his landlord at Witton. His tenure of the

THE SCHOOL-HOUSE
in the Burgess Hall, Warwick

CAMERA JUXTA AULAM

(*from* Shakespeare's Stratford

house and croft and half-acre of land adjoining the Chapel yard had been affected by his removal, or partial removal, into the 'lodgings' provided for him on the erection of Deane's Schoolhouse in 1558, and then by his departure from Witton for Stratford in February 1561. The latter event, after his fourteen years' residence in the township, covering a period of tragic social and religious upheaval, must have seemed, as it may well have been, a misfortune to the neighbourhood. More than half a year passed before the governors of the school appointed a successor, and only then on receipt of a letter from Deane, dated 30 August 1561, requiring them in their 'contention' to have some regard for the Statutes and, 'leaving their affections aside', to choose some 'virtuous, learned, and able man'. Their choice fell at last, not on Bretchgirdle's successor in the curacy, Henry Birkenhead (who may or may not have applied for the post), but on one Stephen Lambert. Witton now had both a curate and a schoolmaster. The latter, presumably, lived in the Master's 'lodgings'. Was Bretchgirdle's house and land adjoining the Chapel yard in request for the curate? Sir Thomas Venables may have leased the premises to Bretchgirdle in 1549–50 in the belief that they would always be occupied by the curate, and perhaps resented the fact that Bretchgirdle surrendered neither lease nor premises but kept his 'servants' (whatever that may mean) in possession, under terms of which we know nothing save that these servants were responsible for his gelding. On the other hand, Sir Thomas was a Romanist, 'not favourable to True Religion',[1] and Bretchgirdle may have retained both lease and occupation in the interest of his Protestant successor in the curacy. Be that as it may, Sir Thomas got into his hands Bretchgirdle's 'deed indented' of the lease, and proceeded 'about the Feast of Pentecost' (21 May) 1564 to 'enter into the premises, and did then

[1] Such he was reported by the Bishop of Chester to the Privy Council in the autumn of 1564.

and there take (the) gelding, of the price of 40*s*., going and depasturing on the premises, and the same horse did impound, detain and keep, and by no means would deliver until he died for famine; and yet not contented, hath and doth daily vex the lessee and his servants, and will not in any wise permit them to occupy' the premises aforesaid. Such was Bretchgirdle's complaint in a bill in Chancery, dated 12 October 1564, petitioning the Lord Keeper (Sir Nicholas Bacon) that, in so much as he had lost his deed, a writ of *subpoena* might be granted on his behalf summoning Sir Thomas Venables to appear in the court to answer the charges against him. The result is unknown, but that the matter was settled amicably we may perhaps conclude from the bequest by Bretchgirdle in his will of 20 June 1565 of a book to the son and heir of the defendant —'I give to my godson, Robert Venables, my *Encheiridion* in English and Latin'. This was probably the *Encheiridion Militis Christiani* ('Manual of a Christian Knight') of Erasmus, which was translated into English for the benefit of a Gloucestershire squire, Sir John Walsh of Little Sodbury, not many miles from Stratford-upon-Avon, by no less a master of both languages than William Tyndale.

Brownsword was at Stratford for two years and six months, as we gather from the following entries in the Chamberlains' Accounts:

> '15 Feb. 1565/6 (Michaelmas 1564 to Michaelmas 1565. Made by John Shakespeare).
> Item paid to Master Brownsword 2*s*. Item paid the Schoolmaster £10.
> 10 Jan. 1567/8 (Michaelmas 1565 to Michaelmas 1567. Made by William Brace).
> Item to William a Court for his half year's wages 33*s*. 4*d*. Item paid to Master Higford and Master Brownsword £40.'

William a Court was the Protestant successor to Roger Edge-

worth in the stewardship. He retired at Lady Day, 1566. Then Master Higford followed. Deducting Higford's 'wages' for the three half-years 25 March 1566 to 29 September 1567 (£5) from the £40, we get £35 for Brownsword. This would be for a year and nine months' service, from Michaelmas 1565 to Midsummer 1567. But by the terms of his engagement he had to give three months' teaching without pay on leaving or forfeit £5, and as the £5 does not appear in the Accounts we are warranted in believing that he served until Michaelmas 1567.

It is worth while to note certain local events during his sojourn in the borough. His friend Bretchgirdle died on 20 June 1565, and was succeeded as vicar by the late schoolmaster, Brownsword's predecessor, William Smart. Smart was presented by Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, on 3 July. John Shakespeare was chosen an alderman on 4 July by the bailiff and aldermen, all of whom were present except the old Romanist, John Jeffreys, who may have been ill. The same day Gilbert Bradley the glover, John Shakespeare's fellow-craftsman and friend in Henley Street, and Nicholas Barnhurst, an ultra-Protestant woollen-draper in Sheep Street, were elected principal burgesses. All three were sworn on 12 September, from which day John Shakespeare was 'Master Shakespeare'. On 4 October Master Shakespeare's ultra-Protestant neighbour in Henley Street, Master John Wheeler, yeoman, was sworn bailiff for the coming twelvemonth. On 15 February 1566 Master Shakespeare made his final account as chamberlain, on behalf of his friend and 'gossip' (as I believe) William Smith of Henley Street, handing over the finances of the borough and the care of its estate, including the continued 'reparation' of the Gild premises, to the new chamberlains, Thomas Dickson of the *Swan* in Bridge Street, and William Brace, a tailor in Corn Street. While Brownsword was Master, the old Gild kitchen, with its handsome chimney, was removed, and a 'solar' or chamber in the roof of the schoolroom (the marks of which may

122364

still be seen) was taken down. Old Alderman Jeffreys died in August 1566, in his house, the Shrieve's House, in Sheep Street. 'I give my soul to God', he said, 'to be in joy with our Blessed Lady and with all the company of Heaven.' Protestant neighbours, however, witnessed and 'supervised' his will, including Nicholas Barnhurst. That month Queen Elizabeth paid her first visit to Warwickshire, where her favoured Dudleys were now restored to greatness and splendour at Warwick Castle and Kenilworth. She arrived in Coventry on the 17th. Philip Sidney rode over from Shrewsbury, with his Puritan schoolmaster, Thomas Ashton, to join in the welcome, and accompanied his uncles, the Earl of Warwick and the Earl of Leicester, in the royal train to Kenilworth (on the 19th) and thence to Warwick, where her Majesty was received with bell-ringing and pageants and magnificent hospitalities. There was a new Countess at the Castle, Earl Ambrose having married Lady Anne Russell, eldest daughter of the Puritan Earl of Bedford, on 11 November previously. The Earl of Bedford and four other lords were lodged by Master Thomas Fisher at the Priory, and presented by the Corporation with wine and sugar, and hoops of filberts and damsons. Stratford men, no doubt, came over in force, and in their Chamberlains' Account is the entry 'for the Queen's carriage 16*s*.'—a contribution from the borough purse towards the expenses of her Majesty's journey as she passed on her way to Woodstock via Charlecote, where she halted and knighted Thomas Lucy at his new manor-house.

That was a great day for the Lucys. The new knight was in his thirty-fifth year, with a rich wife and two children, and a tribe of brothers and sisters, some of whom were almost as young as his children. One of his younger brothers was Richard Lucy, who had inherited the manor of Claybrooke in Leicestershire. To Richard Lucy, about the time of the Queen's memorable visit to Charlecote, Brownsword apparently wrote

his *Ad Ricardum Lucinum*. He plays on the words *Lux* and *Dies* and *Penna* in a way that suggests an act of plagiarism by this gentleman. *Lucinus* is ironical, 'Bringer to the Light' being one who endeavoured to darken. A lazy ass once put on the skin of a lion and frightened the flock until his long ears betrayed him. Thus every huckster who imposes on the simple lets out all at last, bringing it into the clear light of day (*in lucem liquide Dies revelans*). Phœbus exposed the too senseless ears of the Phrygian tyrant,[1] and the east wind shook the harvest of the talkative barber. Aesop's crow went stately in other birds' plumes with ridiculous satisfaction. Day dawning, the greedy Wiles ran for their garments and moved the winged host (*pennigerae cohorti*) to laughter. Things counterfeit do not flourish:

Metiri pede te tuo memento
Pennas proque modo fovere nidi.
Hic scriptis scopus est. Vale! tuamque
Sparten quæ obtigit[2] *expolire curans*
Esto quod cupis ipse te videri—

'Remember to measure thyself with thine own foot, and to nurture thy feathers after the fashion of thy nest. This is the aim of my letters. Farewell! and make it thy care to adorn the Sparta which has been assigned to thee.[2] Be that which thou wouldst appear.'

This apparently is the language of a preceptor, warning his scholar not to pass off another man's work as his own.

In September of this year, 1566, a son was born to the poet-schoolmaster, baptized on the 12th, and entered in the register as *Johannes filius Johannis Brounsworth* (an interesting variant of the name). A month later, on 13 October, Master Shakespeare's second son, Gilbert, was baptized. The 13th October was a Sunday; and in accordance with the rubric in the Prayer

[1] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, xi. 146–93.
[2] Cicero, *Att.* i. 20. 3.

Book, 'that it is most convenient that Baptism should not be ministered but upon Sundays and other holy days when the most number of people may come together, as well for that the congregation there present may testify the receiving of them that be newly baptized into the number of Christ's Church as also because in the Baptism of infants every man present may be put in remembrance of his own profession made to God', the proud alderman, with the sponsors and, it may be, his little son of two and a half years, William, presented himself at the font 'either immediately after the last lesson at morning prayer or else immediately after the last lesson at evening prayer', as the vicar, William Smart, 'by his discretion' did appoint, and in the face of friends and neighbours had his new babe christened, and named probably after his fellow-craftsman in Henley Street, Gilbert Bradley.

Brownsword's departure from Stratford at Michaelmas 1567 coincides with John Shakespeare's nomination for the bailiwick. Two older men were also nominated. Robert Perrott received sixteen votes, Shakespeare three, Rafe Cawdrey none. The last was only nominated *pro forma*, three names having to go before the lord of the manor (the Earl of Warwick), but eventually he was elected, the other two making excuse—Perrott bad excuse, Shakespeare good.

After his brief masterships at Wilmslow, Macclesfield, Warwick, and Stratford, Brownsword settled down in his second period at Macclesfield, which lasted for more than twenty years and left him invalided and famous at the age of about forty-eight. 'Feeling himself by reason of his continual sickness and infirmities unable to accomplish' his charge, he resigned, and on 3 April 1588 a successor was appointed. The Register of Buryings for 1589 records, 'Master John Brownsword, the famous Schoolmaster de Macclesfield, April 15'. A brass plate in the church bears the inscription: '*Joanni Brounswerdo Maclesfeldensi, Ludimagistro, viro pio pariter ac docto, hic*

sepulto et repulverescenti, Thomas Newton Butlensis, pietatis gratitudinis et officii ergo p[*osuit*].

Alpha poetarum, Coryphaeus grammaticorum,
Flos pædagogῶn hac sepelitur humo.
Obiit 15° *Apr.* 1589.

A variant of the distich is published by Newton at the end of his edition of Brownsword's poems, 'Pædonomῶn phœnix' taking the place of 'Flos pædagogῶn'.

8. BROWNSWORD'S POEM TO RICHARD LUCY

Ad Ricardum Lucinum

MASSYLAE exuvias ferae (vetustis
Vatum si qua fides inest Camoenis)
Indutus piger horridas asellus,
Cymaeos male territasse campos,
Atque immane fremens minaxque fertur
Prostravisse humili pecus timore;
Sed flaccae indicio repertus auris,
Ludos praebuit incolisque risum;
Et poenas novus histrio pependit.
Sic quicunque rudi vafre popello [1]
(Personam male sustinens honesti)
Imponit stolido facitque fucum
Promit [2] cuncta tuens vigilque tandem
In lucem [3] liquide Dies revelans
Ridendum teneris propinat annis.
Sic aures [4] Phrygii Dies tyranni
Extensas (ita vindicante Phoebo)
Insulsas nimis, hispidas, agrestes,

[1] The text has *propello*. [2] *promet*.
[3] Is there a play on Lucy? Lucinus (cf. Lucina) is 'the bringer to light', and Richard Lucy attempting to darken has been exposed.
[4] The text has *aureis*.

Detexit: simulac leves loquacis
Tonsoris segetes vibravit Eurus.[1]
Aesopi propriam gravata sortem
Flavae quae fuerat comes Minervae[2]
Furtivis avium superbit ales
Plumis atque sibi placet faceta.
Mox prodente Die emicant rapaces
Technae et quaque suam petente vestem
Risum pennigerae[3] movet cohorti.[4]
Haud fucata diu virent vigentque,
Nec radice valet dolus profunda;
Si quaeras solidum decus nec unquam
Dissolui metuens relinque fucos
Obscoeno cane pejus et colubro
Artes et Stygii Jovis nefandas
Qui sumit Genii nitentis ora
Perquam candida blandula et venusta
Incautis tacito nocens veneno.
Metiri pede te tuo[5] memento
Pennas[6] proque modo fovere nidi.[7]
Hic scriptis scopus est. Vale! tuamque
Sparten quæ obtigit[8] expolire curans
Esto quod cupis ipse te videri.

[1] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, xi. 146–93. Pan challenges Apollo in a music combat. The mountain deity, Tmolus, decides for Apollo, and the assembled listeners, save Midas, concur. Thereupon Apollo gives Midas ass's ears. Midas conceals them under a turban, but his barber discovers them. Not daring to disclose the secret, the barber whispers it to the ground; whence spring reeds, which, moved by the wind, rustle, saying 'Midas has the ears of an ass.'

[2] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, ii. 547–64.

[3] Winged, feathered—'pen-wielding'? See *pennas* further on.

[4] Fable 4.

[5] Horace, *Epistolae*, i. 7, 98: *Metiri se quemque suo modulo ac pede verum est.*

[6] See above, note 2.

[7] Text has *nili.*

[8] Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, i. 20, 3: *quam mihi obtigisse dicis Σπάρταν numquam deseram.*

Which may be rendered thus:

'A slothful ass, clad in the fearsome skin of an African lion, (if any faith may be put in the ancient Muses of the bards) struck terror (they tell us) into the fields of Cyme, and roaring savagely and threatening, brought the flock to the ground in lowly dread. But detected by the evidence of a hanging ear, he furnished sport and laughter to yokels, and the new actor paid the penalty.

'So, whosoever (ill-sustaining the part of an honest man) imposes craftily on the rude crowd and practises deceit on the simple, him at length the all-seeing and watchful Day exposing brings forth clearly to the light, and presents as a laughing-stock to boys and girls.

'So Day (Apollo thus avenging) disclosed the long, too senseless, hairy, clownish ears of the Phrygian King, so soon as the East wind shook the crop of the prating barber.

'Aesop's crow, once companion to the golden-haired Minerva, vexed with her own lot, flaunts in stolen feathers and is an elegant pleasure to herself. Day soon dawning, her greedy tricks appear and, each bird taking its own plume, she moves laughter in the winged throng.

'Not long are falsely-coloured things lusty and strong, nor does guile flourish with deep root. If thou wouldst have a sound reputation, and one that need not fear undoing, leave deceits with greater loathing than thou dost the filthy dog and serpent, and the wiles unspeakable of the god of Hell, who, assuming the countenance of shining Deity, so frank, persuasive and beautiful, poisons the unwary with a silent scath.

'Remember to measure thyself with thy foot, and to nurture feathers after the fashion of thy nest. This is the aim of my letter. Farewell! and make it thy care to adorn the Sparta which has been assigned thee. Be that which thou wouldst appear to be.'

9. THE OLD TOWN CLERK

FEW in Stratford were so familiar or formidable as the old Town Clerk, Richard Symons. Borough documents from 1534 are in his fine, old-fashioned Gothic hand. He had his own phonetic spelling and marked provincial pronunciation. He knew Latin and drew up many deeds in that language. From the granting of the new charter in 1553 until 1570 he was Under Steward or Town Clerk. Being but *Senescallus deputatus* he was elected to the Council as a burgess, and so he kept the minutes. He served his turn as Constable, in the passionate time of Queen Mary, being assaulted by no less a townsman than Alderman Perrott in the performance of his duty. Allowance must be made in these days for loss of temper, including that of Symons. He had the by-laws at his fingers' end, but had to submit with others to fines for breach of them. He lived in Chapel Street, in a house (on the site of no. 7) which formed part of the Council property (previously Gild property), including a garden, a horsemill, a house in Swine Street, and two cottages in Chapel Lane. For all this he paid a rent of 26*s.* 8*d.* He also paid 4*s.* a year for a garden and barn in Swine Street. He kept ducks and pigs, which sometimes strayed. Once his pig, when not astray (as he declared), was worried by Christopher Court's dog. Christopher Court *alias* Smith was a glover and whittawer like John Shakespeare, and a kinsman of the Steward, William Court. Once at least he served on the jury of Frankpledge. But he and his wife, Margaret, kept an alehouse, had been fined for gambling on their premises, for a *sterquinarium* or refuse-heap at their door by the Mere-side, for allowing their dog to go unmuzzled. On 28 February 1560—which was Ash Wednesday and a day of sorrow—their dog bit the Town Clerk's pig. The pig in question was a particularly fine beast, valued at thirteen shillings and fourpence. It was deliberately worried, the old

gentleman alleged, at the instigation of Christopher Smith's wife. She had the dog on a chain and set him upon the pig, with the result that after lingering in pain (*languebat*) until 4 March, which was a Monday, the pig expired. On this day, however, Margaret Smith, instead of expressing regret at what had occurred, added insult to injury by making use of the following words, in English (*Anglice*), 'Richard Symons' wife did steal our gander'. This abominable charge was too much for the old officer, *verus et fidelis legeus Dominae Reginae et sic apud omnes graves homines et fideles subditos ejusdem Reginae a tempore nativitatis suae et ita inter omnes notos et vicinos suos acceptus, datus et reputatus,*

'the true and faithful liegeman of our lady the Queen, and among all grave men and faithful subjects of the same Queen from the time of his birth and among all his acquaintance and neighbours accepted, allowed and reputed;

who forthwith proceeded to claim damages in the Court of Record, 13*s.* 4*d.* for his pig, and 30*s.* for his wife—whose name was Elizabeth, mother of a son Ambrosius, of a son Cuthbert, and of a daughter Elizabeth.

Three months later, on 29 May, Richard Symons in his turn made a serious charge in public against the new resident at New Place. 'You may see,' he said, in scorn, 'what honesty is in William Bott, that hath taken forty pence of Holloway to be a counsel with him against Rawlins, and now hath made Rawlins play against Holloway, of his own handwriting, and that I will justify.'[1] From what we know of William Bott, Symons was not far wrong in his estimate of the Cloptons' agent. On 1 June, three days after Symons' speech Bott was at Snitterfield, making the inventory of the goods of Henry Coles, the village blacksmith, with old Richard Shakespeare.[2]

Symons lost his children in the plague of 1564. Ambrose

[1] P. 11.

[2] *Shakespeare's Haunts*, p. 93.

was buried on 17 August, Cuthbert and Elizabeth on the 30th[1]: the memorable day when the Council—those who had the courage—met in the Gild Garden. Somebody else kept the minutes that day, and for six months after. There was terror of infection, and a report that Symons' maid was abroad in the town with 'sickness sore running' upon her. Young George Gilbert, dyer, son of the late Bailiff, Thomas Gilbert, had the audacity to call him to account. He said to him, 'Thou, Richard Symons, art a very knave to suffer the maid so to do'; and to his wife he said, 'Thy husband is an old knave, and a beggarly knave, and doth owe more than he is worth unto one man that I do know'. This was said on Monday 11 September, when there were five burials in the churchyard. Symons was not to be *thou-ed* by young Gilbert and falsely charged, whatever was happening in the churchyard, and he proceeded to sue him for his speeches, claiming £20 damages. In the meantime he and his wife, apparently, went into the country. He was excused absence from the Chamber on 10 December, about which time the sorely bereaved wife died, and was buried elsewhere than in Stratford. Symons was present at the Council-meeting on 15 February 1565, but he did not keep the minutes. For the rest of the year he fulfilled his duties. In his hand is the record of 4 July of John Shakespeare's appointment as an alderman and Nicholas Barnhurst's as a burgess. And this year or the next he comforted himself by marrying a wife, Isabella. Again he was afflicted. She died, perhaps in childbirth, in June 1567. He attended the Council on 16 July, but was excused taking the minutes; and when he resumed

[1] The *Register* (p. 10 f.) has
'Aug. 17 Ambrosius Symons
30 Cuthbertus filius Johannis Symons
30 Elizabetha filia Richardi Symons'.
They doubtless belong to the same household. *Johannis* is a slip for *Richardi*, repeated from a previous entry. There was no John Symons in Stratford at this time.

the task on 3 September, his writing was that of a broken man. He resigned his Clerkship and went to live in a chamber within the Chapel quad, near the Schoolmaster, Walter Roche, rendered occasional assistance to the Steward, Henry Higford, in John Shakespeare's bailiwick, and was sufficiently vigorous to act as a Constable in the time of the Northern Rebellion. We have evidence of the old man's dignity. Kent's remark to Lear, 'You have that in your countenance which I would fain call Master', might have been said to him.

He died about Christmas 1570, and apparently was not buried in Stratford.

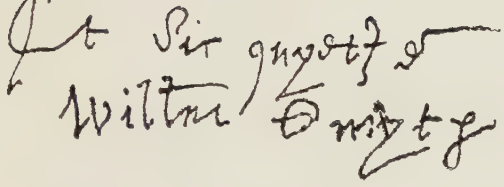
10. 'THE NEW HOUSE'

THE four townsmen called by the dying vicar Bretchgirdle to witness his signature to his will on 20 June 1565 were members of the Borough Council and colleagues of Shakespeare's father. Robert Salisbury brewer lived in Church Street (on the site of the Windmill Inn, no. 21), just above the vicarage (a house leased for the vicar by the Council from Alderman Robert Perrott). John Sadler also lived in Church Street, opposite the Almshouse. Adrian Quyney and William Smith were neighbours in High Street (on the sites of 37–37*a* and 33–4) near the Cross House, prosperous 'mercers', one as a grocer chiefly, the other mainly as a linendraper. Of the former I have written in *Master Richard Quyny*.

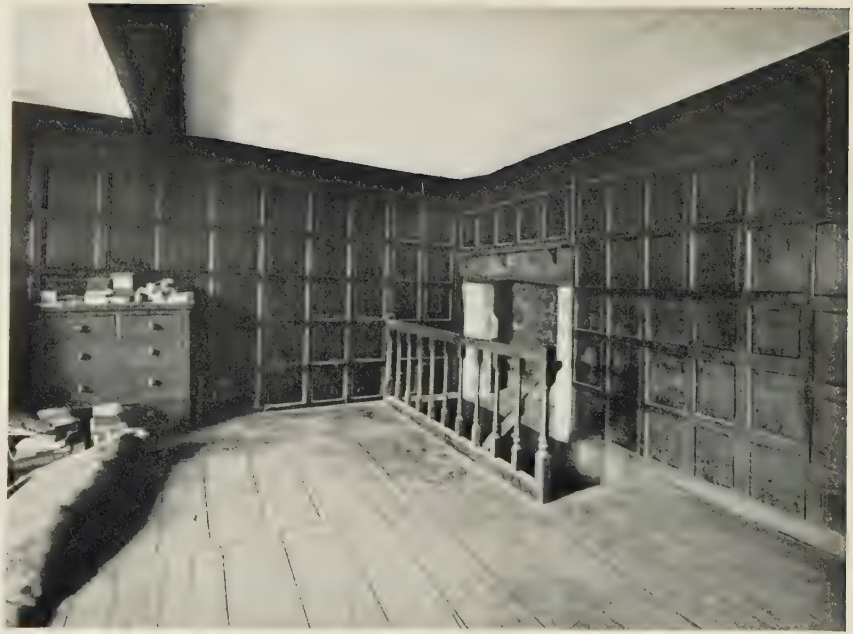
Alderman Smith was older than Adrian Quyney and an outstanding character in Stratford. For more than thirty years he had served the town in public capacities—as a Bridge warden (responsible for the care and repair of 'the Great Bridge') in 1533–4; an alderman of the Guild in 1533 and subsequent years, and master in 1540; a juror of the View of Frankpledge from 1539 onwards, and one of the nominated aldermen (the third in 'seniority', Adrian Quyney being the fourteenth and last) of the new Corporation of 1553. He was a trustee in 1542,

as we have seen, of his interesting neighbour in High Street, Thomas Atwood, and on 21 October 1543 he witnessed his Will.

Thomas Whateley inherited Atwood's lease of the tavern, and as a link between Atwood and Alderman Smith he calls for notice. Like his cousin, George Whateley of Henley Street, he may have come from Henley-in-Arden. He served as Bridge warden in 1527, an alderman of the Gild in 1529 and onward, master in 1534, and on the jury of Frankpledge on most leet-days from 1538 to 1546. In his will of 31 August 1548 he left various properties to his sons—to Clement £20, a bed with its furniture, and 'my yeres of twoo howses next to Master Smythes howse in the Highe strete and Daylls close'; to Richard £20, a bed with its furniture, and 'my taking in the wold towyn' (Old Town), 'with the howse, barne, orcharde and landes in the felde therto belonging'; to William 'twentie marckes, to either of his wiffes childerne xxvj^{s} viij^{d} apece', and 'my takinges of this howse that I dwell yn with my ffree landes longing and being in the same, with my lease of a meddowe lying and being beneth the brige; and I will that my sonne William shalbe feffer for me of a howse that was Master Tayler's' (Atwood's) 'which ffrauncis ffurrer' (Harbage the furrier) 'dwellith in now'. To his son-in-law, William Fidkin, glover in Henley Street, and his children, he bequeathed 20 marks. Other legacies prove his friendship with John Burbage the vintner in Bridge Street, Richard Sharpe the draper in Wood Street, Richard Biddle the chandler (to whom he left his fox-furred gown) and the clerics, Edward Alcock subwarden of the College, and Roger Dyos the parish curate there. On St. George's Day, 23 April, 1545 he had 'kept' (dressed with candles &c.) St. George's altar in the church. He died in the old faith, directing that £10 (a large sum) should be distributed amongst priests clerks and poor people on the day of his burial. Sir John Whateley a priest, brother of George



The signature of Alderman William Smith of Stratford-upon-Avon, mercer, farmer of the late College of Stratford, at the foot of his Account for the Tithes, appended to the Account of Master John Shakespeare, the Poet's father, as Chamberlain, dated 15 February 1565/6. See Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-upon-Avon, i. 152



WAINSCOTED CHAMBER IN ALDERMAN SMITH'S DWELLING (*THE 'NEW HOUSE'*)
NOW 34 HIGH STREET

(*The staircase in front of the Fireplace is modern. The entrance is on our right, out of sight*)

Whateley of Henley Street, was a 'supervisour' of his will—which George Whateley witnessed.

The testator was evidently a yeoman (whatever else), dwelt on his own farm near 'the meadow beneath (below) the Bridge', had another farm in Old Stratford, the lease of Dale's Close in Church Street (on the west), and the leases of two houses (Atwood's tavern and next door, nos. 36 and 35) adjoining 'Master Smith's house in the High Street'.

Alderman Smith's house, then, was built and noteworthy, not to say a landmark, before August 1548. It was known as *The New House*. Smith, who presumably built it, may have so named it after *New Place*, as distinguished from the old-fashioned two-storied dwellings adjoining. It was (and happily still *is*) an edifice of three stories, a timber building for shop and residence, with gabled roof. Fortunately it did not follow the fashion of *New Place* in being of 'brick and timber'. Its framework was (and still is, in parts) filled in with wattle and plaster. Above the shop were wainscoted rooms, which remain, if considerably altered (perhaps after the Fires of 1594 and 1595). There was glass, also, in the windows.

Alderman Smith was a widower with a daughter, when he married for his second wife, Mistress Alice Savage, widow, with two daughters, of Richard Savage of Evesham who died in 1551. She was daughter to Master Thomas Watson of Bengeworth, and sister to John Watson M.A., Fellow of All Souls, Oxford, a clergyman of cautious Protestant principles, destined to become Bishop of Winchester. To Alderman Smith she bore six sons and one daughter before Bretchgirdle's death, and yet a daughter four months after it. To the five elder boys, as we have seen, the vicar left books, to the youngest boy and the girl a memorial silver shilling, as also to the step-daughters, Alice and Elizabeth Savage, a memorial shilling. It was a large household to provide for, but the alderman had adequate means. Besides the *New House* and the 'lease of the

house next adjoined' thereto (on the site of 35?), he owned, with chief rent to the lord-of-the manor, a house in Wood Street, a house in Swine Street, a house in Mere Street, a house in Tinkers' Lane, barns in Swine Street and Walkers' Street, a croft in Mill Lane, a close in Rother Street.[1] He owned three houses in Sheep Street, one in occupation of William Tyler, the father later of Shakespeare's friend, Richard Tyler. He had other property, including 'my lease of certayne errable land, leyse, and comon of pasture within the ffeeldes of Stretford'. He had a lease 'for many years' of the Luddington privy tithes, and as farmer of the College tithes ('of Old Stratford, Bishopton and Welcombe') his name and signature appear in the Chamberlains' Accounts. Like John Shakespeare and others, he stood by Stratford and Vicar Bretchgirdle in the plague of 1564, contributing his levies as an alderman for the relief of the stricken. We note that he witnessed the will of his old Catholic neighbour, John Jeffreys, at his home in Sheep Street, the old Shrieve's House, on 27 July 1566. His step-daughter, Alice Savage, was married in Stratford Church on Trinity Monday 14 June 1568, no doubt by the vicar, William Butcher, M.A., B.D., late President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, *in animo Catholicus*, to Master Julines Bradshaw of Worcester. His own daughter by his first wife was probably already married, to an esquire, Richard Palmer of Compton. His second step-daughter, Elizabeth Savage, was married in Stratford Church on Easter Monday 8 April 1577, presumably by the ultra-protestant Henry Heycroft, M.A., of Cambridge (presented by the Earl of Warwick on Butcher's 'deprivation' after the Northern Rebellion), to Master William Saye, registrar in Causes Ecclesiastical and proctor of the Arches in London. Shortly after this wedding,[2] when Stratford was

[1] *Minutes and Accounts*, iv. 99 103, 105, 106, 107, 110.

[2] Between 8 May 1577, when his name appears for the last time on the list of aldermen, and 4 Oct., when that Puritan protagonist,

fiercely divided in religion, on Whitgift's advent in the diocese, Smith retired from the corporation (at the time of John Shakespeare's withdrawal for a kindred if different motive), and departed to Worcester, leaving his son, John, an ironmonger, in *The New House*. Of the other sons, Richard had graduated at Oxford from Christchurch in 1570 and taken orders; the elder William was with his uncle John Watson, since 1570 Dean of Winchester, or was about to go to him; the younger William was also there or about to go; and Robert probably was dead.[1]

Smith did not long survive his departure to Worcester. He made his will on 6 December 1578, 'late of Stretford-uppon-Avon lynnen draper', and was buried before 17 January 1579[2] in the Cathedral.[3] He bequeathed *The New House* to his son, William the elder, though in the occupation of John. The house was fully equipped with bedsteads and bedding, linen, pewter, brass, plate and jewels.[4] The widow was sole executrix, and overseers were Master Palmer, and her relatives William Watson of Evesham (her brother), Richard Venners of Wellesbourne (her brother-in-law: he married her sister) and William and Thomas Harward, otherwise *Harvard*.

On 18 September 1580 her brother, John Watson, was consecrated Bishop of Winchester. Bishops in 1580 were not

Nicholas Barnhurst, was elected in his stead. *Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford*, iii. 1–3.

[1] He is not named in his father's Will.

[2] The date of probate at Worcester.

[3] So he directed.

[4] 'I give and bequeath to every one of my sayd sonnes one bed furnished with mattresse, ffetherbed, blanckettes, pillows and bolsters, ij payr of flaxen sheetes, ij payr of hempen sheetes, ij bourd clothes, ij towells, one dozen of napkins, half a garnish of pewter vessell, one brasse pan, and one brasse pott, to be geuen at the discretion of my sayd wiff, ffynally my will is that my sayd wiff shall haue the vse and occupation, comodoty and proffitt of all my landes, tennementes and leases during her naturall lyff, and all the residue of my goodes mouable and vnmouable, juells and plate whatsoeuer.'

popular.[1] Feared and hated by both contending parties, most of them shrank from putting into force their new tyrannical powers. Neither Romanist nor Protestant seems to have suffered conspicuously at the hands of Bishop Watson. The chief trouble appears to have been among Protestants angry at his 'levity' shown to 'Papists'. He died on 23 January 1584, a few months after Whitgift's promotion to the primacy, leaving to his successor, Thomas Cooper, a believer like Whitgift in intimidation, the odium of 'Martin Marprelate'. Financially he was happy in his death, before the expiration of his five years' grace for firstfruits. In his Will he was generous to Oxford and Evesham and to his relatives. Interesting are his bequests to the Harvards:

'to my brother William Harward, and to my sister his wife, £10; and to every one of their children £10; . . . to my brother Thomas Harward, and to my sister his wife £10, and to their son Thomas, £10, and to each of my brother Thomas Harward's children, £10.'

He did not forget Mistress Smith:

'unto my sister Smith £10, and a gilt bowl with a cover, and to every one of her children £10, to William Smith her son the elder that is with me, 20 marks, to William Smith her son now Scholar in the College, 20 marks'.[2]

Thomas Harvard gentleman lived at Hewell in the parish of Tardebigge. He and his brother William married sisters Watson, who were sisters of Mistress Smith. And a sister of the Harvards, Elizabeth, seems to have been the lady who married first a Sturley (and became the mother of Abraham Sturley the Stratford attorney), and second Robert Perrott, the brewer and alderman of Stratford. Through Mistress Smith or Mistress Perrott the Harvards may have become acquainted with Master Thomas Rogers of High Street, the builder of a

[1] Pp. 89–93. [2] P. C. C. 1 Watson.

house of the new type even more handsome than *The New House*.

Mistress Smith, who did not long outlive her eminent brother, made her Will on 28 April 1584. In it she directed that

'if my eldest son, William Smith, will perform and let a lease of *The New House* in Stratford unto his brother John for the full term of sixteen or seventeen years, and upon such a rent and so reasonable conditions as shall be thought meet by me and other of his friends as I shall like of to deal therein between them, then he, the said William Smith my son shall have all the glass and *wainscot* belonging to the said house and fastened upon the walls thereof, or else the same glass and *wainscot* to be indifferently praised and sold by my executors and overseers and bestowed between the rest of my children.'

Her executors were her sons-in-law, William Saye and Julines Bradshaw; her overseers, her brother William Watson and brothers-in-law Thomas Harvard and Richard Venners. In a codicil added 1 July she gave to Saye 'that gilt bowl with the cover that was bequeathed to me by my brother John the late Bishop of Winchester and to his wife my best kirtle'; to Bradshaw 'my ring with a diamond therein', to his wife 'the featherbed whereon I lie which was her father Savage's, my best gown and best petticoat', and to their 'servant, Alice Charnocke', a noble. The £10 bequeathed 'unto me by my brother the late Bishop of Winchester', she left to her daughter Margaret, now in her twenty-third year, 'above the legacy given her by her father, towards the advancement of her marriage'. Evidently Mistress Smith died in Worcester, at the house of the Bradshaws, and was buried beside her husband in a spot now unknown in the Cathedral. Her will was proved in London 28 May 1585.[1]

[1] P. C. C. 26 Brudenell.

II. ALDERMAN SADLER'S HOUSE

ALDERMAN John Sadler, the third witness to the will of Vicar Bretchgirdle[1] and second signatory to the inventory of his goods and chattels[2] (unfortunately not of his books) lived, as already said, opposite the Almshouse.[3] His picturesque freehold consisted of a dwelling-house and three tenements to the north of it, with premises extending to Dale's Close and Tinkers' or Scholars' Lane—stables, outbuildings, garden, orchard, and dovecote. The site is definitely indicated in the Inquisitio of the lord of the manor, Ambrose Earl of Warwick, 6 October 1590:

'Church Strete, Johannes Sadler tenet libere unum tenementum cum pertinentiis per redditum per annum xii^{d} secta curie. Idem Johannes tenet libere unum gardinum cum pertinentiis per redditum per annum iii^{d} secta curie. Idem Johannes tenet duo tenementa cum pertinentiis per redditum per annum ii^{s} secta curie (Exch. Spec. Com. 2351 An^{o} 32 Eliz.).[4]

And it is confirmed by what Sadler himself says in his will of 1 March 1582–3:

'To my son John Sadler the tenement and house wherein I now dwell, with stables, edifices, buildings, dove-houses, orchards, gardens, &c., belonging; . . . to my said John one tenement, now being counted three, on the north side of the house wherein I dwell with all back-sides belonging.' (Worcester P. Court 1584 No. 21.)

Between the 'three tenements' of the will and the 'duo tenementa' of the Inquisitio there is no discrepancy, 'duo' being the usual term for more than a single block.

John Sadler was a leading townsman in Shakespeare's youth

[1] P. 29. [2] P. 29. [3] P. 55.

[4] The property extended to Tinkers' Lane—where, we read, Johannes Sadler tenet libere dimidium tenementi cum pertinentiis per redditum per annum iiij^{d}. Johannes Sadler tenet libere unum gardinum per redditum per annum j^{d} cum secta curie (*Ib.*).

and a colleague of his father in the Corporation. He was a miller, tenant of the Town Mills below the church, and of the fishing-ground (which he sublet to one Ingram) full of pike and perch, the scene probably of the expeditious handling of the rod and 'trammel' on that memorable 'bank and shoal' of Macbeth's life[1] (a 'trammel' or net was among the effects of Robert Ingram in 1627). He was also tenant, or owner, of 'walk' or fulling mills, one of which was near the entrance of the 'Mere' into the Avon in Walker (or Chapel or Dead) Lane by New Place (Ariel's 'groans' kept pace with the stroke of its wheel).[2] An example of the Corporation's vigilance was their fining 'John Sadler milner 16*d*.' (say 16*s*.) 'for winnowing his peas in Dead Lane, leaving the chaff in the Lane, bringing his swine into the Lane, and not scouring the ditch there' (i.e. the mill-stream); 4*d*. for each several offence. This was in 1561, three years before his election to the Chamber. His promotion to the bench of aldermen was in John Shakespeare's bailiwick in 1569. He served as Bailiff in 1570–1, and would have served again in 1582–3 had his health permitted. The only occasion on which Alderman Shakespeare emerged from his ten years' malcontent retirement (1577–1586) was to vote for his old friend for this honourable office on Wednesday, 5 September 1582.

Sadler died six months later, and was buried in the church on 12 March 1583. His will and inventory show that he was a yeoman and maltster, as well as a miller and fuller, that he was tenant of a number of barns, and owner of Dovehouse Close in Henley Lane and of the Bear Inn in Bridge Street. They give also a pleasant picture of his house in Church Street —with his wife Joan, two sons, Thomas and John, and three daughters. Shakespeare must have seen him in his 'parlour' —a chamber wainscoted and hung about with 'painted cloths',

[1] *Macbeth*, I. vii. 1–7. *Shakespeare's Stratford*, p. 2.
[2] *The Tempest*, I. ii. 280 f.

and furnished with a table that could be 'turned up' after supper for dancing (like Capulet's),[1] a little square table, a chair, and three forms with cushions, three coffers or chests, a cupboard full of silver, a crossbow on the wall, and a sumptuous Elizabethan fourposter, curtained and piled up with mattress, flock bed and feather bed, bolsters, pillows, blankets, sheets, and 'hillings' (coverlets), worth anything from £70 to £100 in our money. His linen was worth double that, and his silver even more. The latter included a fine goblet—the proverbial miller's pride?

> In yonder chair I see him sit,
> Three fingers round the old silver cup—[2]

which he bequeathed to John. His gold signet ring he left to Thomas.

Thomas, who inherited the Bear, proved a scapegrace, sold the inn, and went to the wars in Ireland, leaving his children to his brother and his wife to the Almshouse (opposite his father's house). John inherited the flour mill, and the rent of the walk-mills, and, on his mother's death, the freehold in Church Street. He married Isabella Smart, niece of the first Protestant schoolmaster of Stratford, afterwards vicar, William Smart, in 1584, just a year before his mother, Widow Joan Sadler, married Alderman Thomas Dixon *alias* Waterman, of the Swan Inn in Bridge Street.

Before his mother's death in 1609 he lived, for a time at least, in Rother Market, next door to Alderman John Gibbs. He resided on the site of no. 8, Gibbs on that of no. 7. Six elms grew before Gibbs's door, sixteen more in his grounds. Probably as many grew in and about Sadler's house. A fall of timber almost killed Alderman Gibbs on Whit Tuesday, 10 June 1595. Sadler sent for a surgeon, who was Robert Reade. We hear of other medical men in Stratford, neighbours of

[1] *Romeo and Juliet*, I. v. 29.
[2] Tennyson, *The Miller's Daughter*.

Shakespeare—Master Hancbeam, surgeon, who died in 1575; Master Philip More, physician, whose wife, a Catholic recusant, found refuge in 1592 at Evesham; and the Masters Agge (or Agard), George and John, who practised in the reign of James, and whose reputation was eclipsed by that of Shakespeare's eminent son-in-law, Doctor Hall. But this by the way.

John Sadler, like his father, served in the Corporation, but, less wealthy, found it a strain on his resources. He was Bailiff in 1599–1600, and Head Alderman to Richard Quyney in the latter's fatal term of office, 1601–2. When the time came for Sadler's second bailiwick, 1611, he pleaded 'decayed estate'. His colleagues, unconvinced, elected him, in 1612; but in February 1614 they allowed him to retire from the Chamber.

If Sadler, however, lacked wealth, he did not want able children—a son, John, who prospered as a grocer in London, and daughters who married into leading families: Quyney, Baker, Kempson. Margaret was the wife of Leonard, son of Edward Kempson, 'gentleman', of Arden Grafton. Leonard Kempson and Margaret lived apparently with her father in the old Sadler-house in Church Street. More than one household under the parental roof was usual. Leonard Kempson was a musician, to judge from his musical instruments. Delicate, though he served as constable of his ward in 1620–1, he was a patient of Dr. Hall and died young, in August 1625, less than two months after his father-in-law. Among his effects were a pair of virginals, two viols, a cittern, a recorder, a flute, and 'music-books'. These treasures add beauty to the memory of the old two-storied Gothic dwelling which is now no more.[1] So does John Sadler's will of 12 May 1625. We see him dying in his father's parlour and 'standard' bed. He declares:

'I, John Sadler, gentleman, sick in body but in good and perfect memory . . . bequeath my soul into the hands of Almighty God . . . and my body . . . to be buried in the Church of Strat-

[1] Save for the south end of the premises (now no. 11).

ford . . . I give to my son, John of London, the bed and whole furniture thereunto belonging in the parlour where I lie . . . one frame and joined table . . . forms, all the wainscot and painted-cloths . . . cushions . . . chairs . . . great cupboard. . . .'

Little is changed after an interval of forty-two years—save that the silver is gone, and the cross-bow, and in the 'inner-chamber' is a 'great leather chest' full of pewter and a fine copy of the English Bible valued at 13*s.* 4*d.*—say £8 or £9. Music and the Bible are significant marks of contemporary culture. On Friday 1 July, John Sadler's body was taken from Church Street to the church and buried within a few feet of the grave of his friend the Poet.

12. ALDERMAN SHAKESPEARE'S HOUSE

IN Henley Street, on the north side, just beyond the stream or 'mere' which ran in a stone 'gutter' across the road (from Gild Pits into Mere Lane and thence into Rother Market) stood in 1552 a block of three houses of the homely, old-fashioned kind. From what remains of it, and from a sketch made in 1786, we have a clear idea of the structure. A framework of oak, braced, mortised and pinned together, rests on a low foundation wall, is gripped at each end and consolidated in the centre by chimney-stacks, and secured by a weighty roof of stone or tile. The lower story is 'close-timbered', the upper is 'square-panelled'; above is the 'solar' or attic, with pointed gables, pinned with nails of wood. Stone slates or tiles are fastened with pegs or with splinters of bone. Spaces between the timbers of the walls are filled with lath or wattle-work ('winding'), which is 'daubed' with clay and, when the clay is dry and cracked, 'pargetted' or plastered. The chimneys rise from a wide open hearth to a twisted shaft, heavy to resist a storm. Iron, what there is of it, is smith's work—hinges, hooks, locks, latches, sign and weather-cock.

Such a building, simple, full of character, with the mark of

THE BIRTHPLACE IN 1788

(*From* Shakespeare's Stratford)

THE BACK (*of the Middle House at the Birthplace*). *Restored in* 1858
(*from* Shakespeare's Stratford)

the craftsman's tool and finger, and pleasure, on every inch of it, is the fitting home of a poet. Given imagination and industry, it is a storehouse of memories and achievement, and of fancies. Shadows and weird noises are in the rafters, the wind is in the chimneys, crickets are on the hearth, fairies glisten in the light of the dying fire, through leaded windows shines the moon, without is the 'to-whit, to-whoo' of the owl. Shakespeare's birthplace left its impress deep on his mind and poetry.

We will distinguish the houses as the East (on the right), the Middle, and the West. John Shakespeare, glover and whittawer, purchased the East-house in 1556. He probably occupied it in 1552, when he was living in Henley Street and was fined with his neighbour, Adrian Quyney, for a breach of the by-laws. There is no evidence that he occupied either of the other houses until his purchase of them in 1575. In the East-house, therefore, he had his shop and home (a passage on the ground floor divided them), when he married Master Robin Arden's youngest daughter, Mary, and brought her from Wilmcote to Henley Street; and here, in the East-house, his children were born, including the poet.

By the purchase in 1575 of the 'two' adjoining 'messuages' with 'two gardens' and 'two orchards', Alderman Shakespeare acquired the whole block, of which his shop and dwelling hitherto formed the eastern wing. Over the West-house was probably a large gable corresponding to that on the East-house. The Middle-house had a narrow frontage but ran back into the garden in the rear. The West-house he apparently leased to William Burbage; the Middle-house he united to the East-house, connecting it with interior doorways. He thus had room for his family and business. The former had grown, we know; and that the latter had increased in proportion is the natural inference from the purchase itself, and from his application next year for a coat-of-arms.

In 1582 his son, the poet, married Anne Hathaway, and without doubt, according to the custom (as in the case of the Wheelers, Quyneys, Hornbys, Smiths, Hathaways, Webbes, and a score of others), brought her to the parental home. They probably occupied the picturesque back of the Middle-house. It was an ideal little home for the lawyer's clerk, who afterwards joined the players, and while in London or on tour knew that his wife and children were under the parental roof. There was a separate kitchen and staircase and a 'solar' in the front, in the roof of the West-house, which may have caused differences between the Alderman and his tenant, Burbage. At any rate, Burbage, at the time of Shakespeare's marriage, demanded the cancelling of his lease and surrender of the purchase money, and the obstinate Alderman refused.

Henley Street suffered in the great Fire of 1594. Houses on the north side, below and above, and on the south side opposite, were destroyed; and the property, we may believe, was saved by the stream on the east, next to Hornby's smithy, and by the use of fire-hooks on the west, which partially dismantled the West-house. Reflection of the disaster probably appears in 'A Midsummer Night's Dream', work of that summer when the poet's native town was both drenched with flood and devastated by fire.

> Over park, over pale,
> Thorough flood, thorough fire,
> I do wander everywhere,

cries the Fairy[1]; and Puck terrifies the clowns with his threat to be 'sometime a Fire, and burn, Fire at every turn!'[2]

Alderman Shakespeare did not rebuild. When, in 1596–7, he sold a strip of his land at the west end to his neighbour, Badger, for the reconstruction of Badger's premises, he conveyed it to him as a 'toft'—that is, land where once stood a messuage 'that is fallen or pulled down'.

[1] II. i. 4–6. [2] III. i. 115–7.

After the fire and the death of his boy, Hamnet (Hamlet), which changed for him the birthplace into a deathplace, the Poet with ampler means purchased, in 1597, New Place, and, after restoration, removed thither with his wife and daughters, Susanna and Judith, aged fourteen and twelve. Some time after his departure his sister, Joan, occupied part or whole of the Middle-house, with her husband, William Hart, a hatmaker. On his father's death, in 1601, Shakespeare inherited the property, subject to his mother's dower. He leased the East-house to one Lewis Hiccocks, of Welcombe, who converted it in 1603 into an inn, with the sign of the Maiden-Head. The Middle-house, and what was left of the West-house, he let to his sister at the nominal rent of 12*d*. Presumably he took his aged mother to New Place. She died in 1608; he and his brother-in-law, William Hart, died in 1616.

Joan Hart lived in Henley Street until her death in 1646. She left a son, Thomas, who had four children—Michael, Thomas, George, Mary. The Harts inherited the property from Shakespeare's granddaughter, Lady Barnard, in 1670. They continued to reside in the Middle- (and West-) house; and here visitors like Aubrey and Betterton called, picked up anecdotes about the poet from George Hart and his son, Shakespeare Hart, and carried away the idea, which became a tradition, that a bedroom in the Middle-house, occupied for a century and more by the poet's people, was that in which he was born.

Legends have their value, but they are not history. The tradition of the birth-room is legend, and illuminating; the tradition of the Birthplace is solid fact, resting on the rock.

13. ALDERMAN ROGERS AND HIS HOUSE

THE Robert and William Harvard who married the daughters of Alderman Thomas Rogers were of a later generation but probably of the same family as the brothers-in-law of Mistress Smith and the cousins of Alderman Perrott.

Thomas Rogers, butcher, yeoman, maltster, appears somewhat late on the scene and then prominently. He had been a widower and had married again (on 31 January 1563) before Shakespeare was born. By his second wife (Margaret Pace of Shottery) he had nine children, of whom two died in infancy. Of the others we will notice Charles the eldest, who may have given his father trouble, and the daughters Joan and Alice, born in 1571 and 1574, who married respectively John Wilmore and William Smith, their father's neighbours in High Street.

Thomas Rogers lost his second wife, Margaret, in 1580 or 1581, and married for a third time in November 1581, his helpmate now being Alice Calle, who perhaps had property. More children came, including the daughters, Katharine and Frances, born in November 1584 and March 1594, who married Harvards. Family cares had probably been his sufficient excuse for refraining from public life, for though he had served as a Taster in 1569 and a Constable in 1570 he was not at the time of his third marriage a member of the Council. His prosperity, however, was obvious, and on 4 September 1584 he was warned by the Serjeant-at-the-Mace to appear at the next 'hall' to give his reasons why he should not be a burgess. Next year he was elected and sworn; and less than two years later, though not very regular in his attendance, he was chosen, over the heads of all the other burgesses, an alderman. In September 1588, when Englishmen were thanking God for the defeat of the Armada, Rogers was nominated for the bailiwick, but his name was withdrawn that he might first serve in the prior and indispensable office of chamberlain. To this post he was appointed, with John Gibbs as colleague, on 4 October. In 1589 on 3 September he was elected bailiff, and on 3 October he performed the double function of presenting his Account as chamberlain (three months before the usual time) and entering on his duties as chief borough-magistrate.

For the next twenty years Rogers is to the front, doing his

part, little or large, with blunt honesty and outspokenness, sometimes in defiance of authority. He surveys the Corporation property, contributes thorns and furze for the repair of the Avon bank after flood, assists in ridding the town of undesirable strangers, insists on punctuality in accounts and regularity in payment, votes for Richard Quyney as bailiff, signs the appointment of Master Jeffereys as Steward, supports the Council in their struggle with the rapacious ground landlord, Sir Edward Greville.

He served as bailiff for a second time in the year of desolation following the Fires of 1594 and 1595. His house was burned and earnings at least threatened by restrictions on malting and engrossing consequent on the dearth of grain. He excused himself from payment of Subsidy. We read in the Corn Inquiry of December 1595:

'Master Thomas Rogers, baily of the borough, did buy a cartload of barley 30 October, and what more we know not, before it came into the market and did forestall the market; and he doth say that he *will justify it*, and he *careth not a turd for them all*, and these words being spoken the 28 day of November.'

'The said Thomas Rogers, baily of Stratford, hath been in the Subsidy book, and now he has got forth and payeth nothing; and Master Sturley and Richard Quyney and Master Badger, all these being great corn-buyers, and buyers of wood and suchlike; and they being put forth and other poor men put in to pay for them.'

And in the Presentment of Maltsters of the same date:

'*Inprimis* Master Thomas Rogers now Bailiff hath in his house of his own 15 quarters of malt and 2 of barley; and of his son-in-law John Wilmore's 20 quarters of malt: in all 35 of malt and 2 of barley. We are given to understand that besides his butcher's trade, which until now of late he always used, he is a buyer and seller of corn for great sums; and withal useth grazing, and buying and selling of cattle; and hath in household thirteen persons.'

He was evidently not hit as were William Parsons, Abraham Sturley, and George Badger, nor as were the Quyneys. He rebuilt his house in High Street in 1596 in the manner of *The New House* and *New Place*, bestowing on the borough (good architecture is always a gift and a compliment) a perfect specimen of late Tudor workmanship. It is yet with us, lovable in its blending of lowliness with stateliness, an invitation at every door and in every chamber to enter and feel at home. And our pleasure in it is greater when we think that Shakespeare must have seen it and enjoyed it at the time when he determined to purchase and repair *New Place*. He would note the carving on the woodwork in front—the vineleaf scroll and Tudor Rose, the thorn and the fleur-de-lys, the Ox of the owner's 'mystery', the Bear and Rugged Staff of the Dudleys.

The house, we may believe, was sufficiently completed for the Michaelmas hospitalities, 1596, when the Bailiff and his wife, Alice (whose initials are cut with those of her husband on the front), entertained the Council and officers. And it is delightful to know that on Thursday, 20 January 1597, the eve of the Chamberlains' Account day, Master and Mistress Rogers had the pleasure of welcoming to their new and handsome residence Sir Thomas Lucy of Charlecote and 'other gentlemen': the Corporation providing, according to custom, items of wine and sugar, at a cost of ten shillings and five pence.

This is not the only house in which Master Rogers was interested. The two handsome tenements, in the new style, immediately below his own, were built, possibly with his assistance, by his sons-in-law. John Wilmore after the death of his first wife, Master Wheeler's daughter Anne, married, as already said, Joan Rogers, sometime before December 1595; and William Smith, after the death of his first wife, Elizabeth Compton *alias* Symons, married, as stated, Alice Rogers, on Sunday 1 January 1604.

Smith, son of William Smith of Henley Street (Shakespeare's

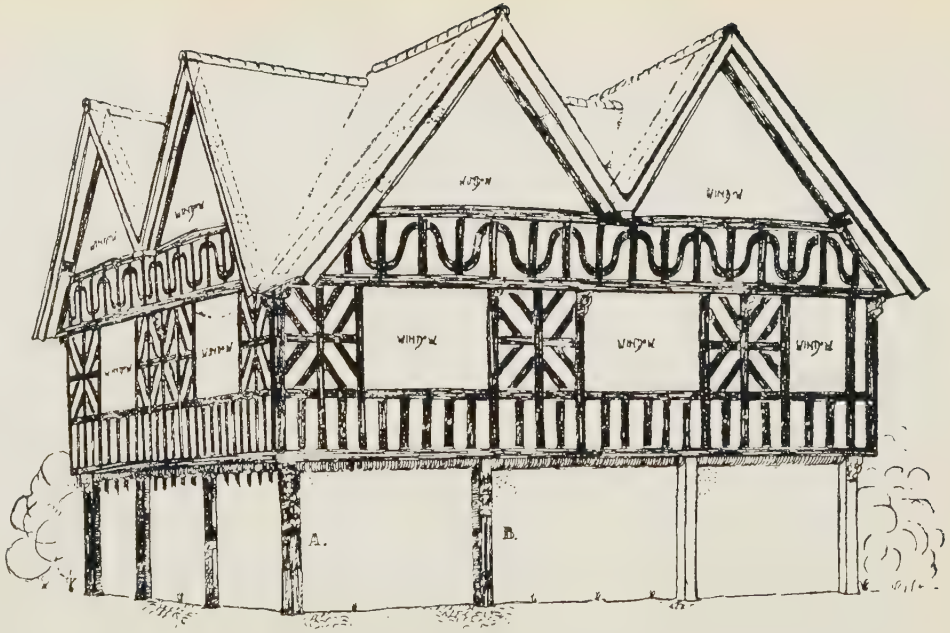
THE HOUSE OF THOMAS ROGERS
(*on the right*)

(*From* Master Richard Quyny)

jecting on each street. The ground story is close-timbered, as is the lower part of the overhanging story above. The upper part of that story has diamond-bracings, and the gable face of the again overhanging top story has single bell-bracings. The rebuilding of the Town after the Fires of 1594 and 1595 called for able joiners, and happily it found them.

Old Rogers lived into the reign of King James, and attached his signature, now shaky, to interesting petitions on behalf of valued and loved fellow-townsmen. Both are directed to Doctor Wood, Chancellor of the Consistory Court of Worcester, for the renewal of a licence. The first, dated 18 June 1604, is on behalf of the old curate. 'We whose names are here subscribed', it runs, 'do signify unto you that we have known this, the said William Gilbard, for many years, and to be of a very honest, quiet, sober and good behaviour towards all men, and diligent to do all such things as are required at his hands in his place, by the which behaviour he hath well deserved both our loving affections and also these our letters of commendations.' It is subscribed by Francis Smith bailiff, John Gibbs alderman, Richard Byfield 'minister' (the vicar), Thomas Barber of the *Bear*, Thomas Rogers, and four other aldermen—Abraham Sturley, John Sadler, John Smith (the ironmonger, of *The New House* in High Street), and William Wyatt. The other, dated 18 October of the same year, is on behalf of Thomas Parker, 'our honest loving neighbour', who 'hath for a reasonable time of continuance in our town of Stratford-upon-Avon employed himself to the teaching of little children, chiefly such as his Wife one time of the day doth practise in needle-work, whereby our young youth is well furthered in reading, and the Free School greatly eased of that tedious trouble'. They request that he may be permitted 'to teach the alphabet and reading of English after his accustomed manner in Stratford, whereunto the late reverend Father your Bishop deceased'—Thomas Bilson—'at Charlecote, at a visitation, was requested

CHAMBER IN THE HOUSE OF THOMAS ROGERS



JOHN WILMORE'S HOUSE

(*From* Souvenir of the Tudor House)

by Sir Thomas Lucy deceased'—he died 7 July 1600—'William Combe and Bartholomew Hales esquires, who the rather at their requests gave his consent, taking notice of his name and writing it in his tables'. It is subscribed by the new bailiff and alderman—John Smith the ironmonger and Daniel Baker; Richard Lane of Bridge Town, Thomas Rogers, Henry Wilson whittawer, Francis Smith of the Corner House Middle Row (facing the High Cross), William Court the attorney of Chapel Street, Thomas Barber of the *Bear*, and last but by no means least in such a matter, Alexander Aspinall, 'scholemaister' ('great Philip Macedon', as he was called, Shakespeare's 'Holofernes').

Katharine Rogers, in her twenty-first year, married Robert Harvard from her father's house in High Street on 8 April 1605. Presumably the 'Minister' Byfield officiated. Robert Harvard, like Rogers a butcher and perhaps his late apprentice resident with him in this house, now lived in Southwark near the Globe Theatre, and in St. Mary Overy's was christened his son, John Harvard, on 29 November 1607—a month before the burial there of Shakespeare's brother, Edmund, 'a player'. The child became famous as the founder of Harvard University.

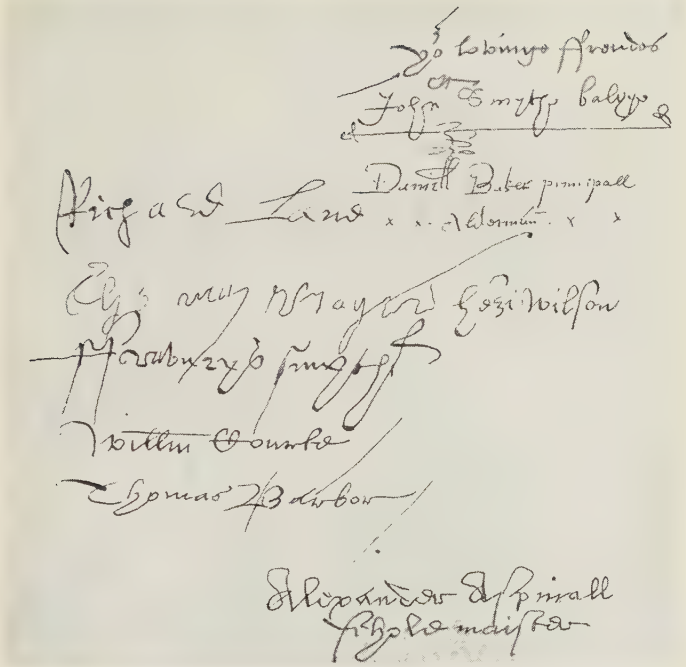
In August 1608 Rogers lost his wife, Alice, and in March following his son, Charles. On 12 April he attended after nearly a year's absence his last Council meeting, doubtless to request that he might resign. On the 21st it was agreed, 'that Master Thomas Rogers by reason of his great age, and his being grown unable thorough infirmity to bear the office of Alderman, be, *with great allowance of his good desert of this place*, amoved from his office'. He lived to see his youngest daughter, Frances (she was barely seventeen), married to William Harvard, the brother of her sister's husband Robert, on 3 January 1611. Next month, on 20 February, he was buried, with alderman's honours, within the Church. His will is lost, but it was proved on 27 April by his son, and heir to his house, Thomas Rogers.

14. MASTER JOHN SMITH OF *THE NEW HOUSE*

JOHN SMITH the ironmonger was no longer young when in January 1591, six years after his mother's death, he married Alice Walker, the sister of Shakespeare's friend, Henry Walker mercer. He entered the Council in 1594, and was elected, while still Chamberlain, an alderman on 3 September 1600. He made his Account as Chamberlain on 8 January 1602, and his autograph copy is among the Stratford archives. It is full and business-like, but the spelling proves him to be better acquainted with tradesmen's script than print. Evidently, whatever his interests, he did not, like Richard Quyney and other Stratford contemporaries, keep up his reading after leaving the Latin School or the tutorship of Vicar Bretchgirdle. He did not justify the bequest to him in 1565 of the Sallust and Justine in Latin.

On 5 September 1604 he was elected Bailiff, 'by the whole consent of all present, without contradiction of any', with Daniel Baker as Head Alderman. He fell out with Daniel Baker—who was a man of pronounced opinions. At the close of their term of office they were made friends by the brethren over a bottle of sack on 9 October 1605. Master Smith also fell out, we know not why, with his brother-in-law, Henry Walker. When 'Harry Walker', as his friends called him, was elected to the bailiwick in September 1607, his kinsman was the only member of the Council to vote against him. The difference, however, was temporary, and swallowed up in grief when John Smith lost his eldest son, Henry, godson probably of Henry Walker, in March 1611 aged eighteen. A year later the afflicted father made his will, on 12 April 1612, directing 'my body to be buried in the Parish Church, in the south aisle next adjoining to my son'.

Here it was laid on 27 December. The deceased left consider-



Signatures to the Letter on behalf of Thomas Parker
18 *October* 1604

'THE JOINER'S HOUSE'
(between the Almshouse and the Gild Hall). Dwelling of the Old Type

able possessions to his children—to Thomas his dwelling-house (the *New House* in High Street) with the *wainscoting* and glass: 'all that my dwelling-house which I now do dwell in, with the backside, and wainscot and glass thereto belonging'[1]; to Richard, lands worth 40*s*. a year and a house by Mere Side; to William, two tenements in Sheep Street; to John, tenements in Swine Street and Rother Market; to Robert, a tenement in Bridge Street (in the occupation of Shakespeare's nephew, Richard Hathaway, baker); to Francis, a tenement in High Street (in the occupation of Philip Rogers the apothecary);[2] to Alice, a tenement in Bridge Street and £20; to Margaret, a tenement in Wood Street and £20; to Eleanor, land in the Hamme and £20; and the residue (with the whole for life) to his widow, the executrix. 'And,' he added, 'I do entreat my cousin Richard Venners, *my brother Henry Walker*, and my cousin Thomas Harwood, and my cousin John Wendres, to be my overseers and helpers to my said executrix.'

A codicil stipulated that if Thomas (who was 17) proved 'stubborn' and not to 'be ordered and ruled' by his mother, he was to have Richard's portion, and Richard 'shall have my whole house that now I dwell in'.

Mistress Smith, sister of Henry Walker, sister also of Elizabeth Rogers of the Old Shrieve's House in Sheep Street (friend of Doctor Hall and his wife Susanna Shakespeare, friend also of Shakespeare's cousin John Greene of Bridge Town), survived her husband twenty years. She was buried, no doubt in that sacred spot in the south aisle of the Church, on 20 April 1633.

Thus we may trace the links between one house and another and the intercourse among them, and find ourselves never far from William Shakespeare.

[1] P. 61. [2] *Shakespeare's Stratford*, p. 36 f.

15. MASTER ALEXANDER ASPINALL

FOUR Stratford worthies link Shakespeare with Lancashire. They are John Bretchgirdle, the first Protestant vicar of Stratford; his pupil, who followed him to Stratford as Schoolmaster, John Brownsword; Walter Roche, who was Schoolmaster from 1569 to 1571; and Alexander Aspinall, who was Schoolmaster from 1582 until his death in 1624. Bretchgirdle baptized Shakespeare; Brownsword was welcomed to Stratford by Shakespeare's father as Chamberlain and 'placed' by him in his cottage in the Chapel Quad; Roche was Shakespeare's teacher at the School; Aspinall and Shakespeare were neighbours within a stone's throw of each other for upwards of twenty years.

Alexander Aspinall graduated at Oxford from Brasenose in 1575, supplicated for M.A. in 1578, and was somewhat under thirty years of age when he took up his abode in the Schoolmaster's little dwelling-house in the Chapel Quad. With an usher to help him, he had charge of some two dozen boys whom he instructed in Latin and the Bible, preparing them for the professions and the University. I have traced thirteen Oxford scholars to his probable tuition.

But for him the School was too limited a dominion. His energies extended beyond its walls. With not a little of his countrymen's alleged conceit that 'what Lancashire thinks today England will think to-morrow', he was ready to put Stratford right in other matters than pedagogic. He was an able, pompous person, vastly respected for his learning, and facetiously known as 'Great Philip Macedon'. He played many parts, as a burgess, Chamberlain, an alderman, and the deputy Town Clerk. As Chamberlain he once fulfilled the duties of bum-bailiff, sitting up all night to evict a troublesome tenant of the Corporation. Whatever he did was exact and exemplary,

'CHAPEL' (*The name given to the precinct*)

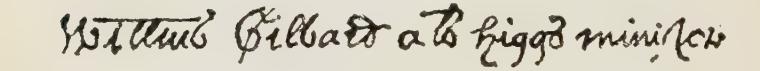
Sir Gilbert's Camera
(behind the wall)

Master Aspinall's dwelling
(former School House built in 1428)

House on site of the old Priest's House
(the vicarage)

Signum Thome Deegae, 3 July 1595

Thomas Deege alias *Gethen was a Flemish weaver in Stratford. His sign manual alludes to the word* Degen, *Dutch for a dagger or short sword*



Willelmus Gilbard *alias* higgs minister

Signature in 1591

of gr'. Phillip Massedon

Entry of Alexander Aspinall's levy towards 'the Charge of Prosecuting the Bill in Parliament for the Better Repair of the High Ways', 11 *Sept.* 1611. Misc. Doc. i. 4, 6

as in the writing of a receipt which should be a model of its kind (and a curiosity in the Corporation archives):

'Sexto die Novembris anno domini 1585 et regni Regine Elizabethe vicesimo septimo. Witnesseth that I, Alexander Aspinall, Schole maister of the Free Schole in Stretford vpon Avon, have receyved of George Bardall, Chamberlayne of the same Towne, at foure severall payments, that is to wit everie quarter fyve pounds, the whole and full summe of twentie pounds, due to be payd to the foresaid Alexander, as Scholemaister, by the said George as Chamberlaine, from the Feaste of Sancte Michell th' archangell in the yeare of the Lorde 1584 vntill the said Feaste of Sancte Michell next after in the yeare of our Lorde 1585, being the first yeare of his Chamberlainshype; which said summe of xx[li] I acknowledge myselfe to have receyved, and for that yeare doe acquitte the said Chamberlaine by these presentes. In witness whereof I, the said Alexander Aspinall, to this myne acquittance have put to my hande, the daye and yeare aboue wryten. By me Alexander Aspinall.'

This 'acquittance' is hardly in proportion to the money received, even when we remember that his salary of £20 was equal to more than £250 to-day. He added to his wages by buying and 'selling of wool and yarn, and making of malt' (of which in 1595 he possessed 32 quarter).

The same copy-book exactitude and fullness characterize his two Chamberlain Accounts, and the first person plural (he had a colleague, who was passive) is intrusive:

'On St. Thomas day last we went to the Charity House to see the rents paid, and we found that some had paid, some came and paid when we were present, and some sent their rent afterwards. . . . We went to them in Tinkers' Lane, but none of them was at home, save Fitter, which said he had not his money ready. For these sums we are not countable.'

We are reminded of Malvolio. It was not for Master Aspinall to be 'running after' Charity-folk, any more than for

Olivia's Steward after 'a peevish messenger'. Was he the pedant Maria speaks of who kept school, in the Warwickshire yellow stockings, cross-gartered for warmth, 'in the church'? Aspinall, we know, was forbidden to keep school in the Chapel.

He reminds us still more and irresistibly of Holofernes. In 1590 he obtained a lease from the Corporation which gave him control of the Chapel precincts. He converted the old school-house (which had been let to a stone-mason) into a more comfortable dwelling for himself, and let his cottage (or *camera*) to his friend, Sir William Gilbert, the curate. Sir William was older than the Schoolmaster but submissive enough, 'of a very honest, quiet, sober and good behaviour towards all men, and diligent to do all such things as are required at his hands in his place'. Besides curate he was poor man's lawyer, scrivener, and keeper of the two Town clocks, for which he received 20*s*. a year, with 'liquor', which was not ale but oil. This simple creature, surely, was 'Sir Nathaniel'.

Holofernes is from the Apocrypha, Sir Nathaniel from the New Testament. Holofernes is praised by Judith in fulsome terms: 'We have heard of thy wisdom and of thy prudent spirit, and it is declared through the whole earth that thou only art excellent and of a wonderful knowledge'. Whence Chaucer:

> Was never capitayn gretter of renoun,
> Ne more pompous in heigh presumpcioun,
> Than Oloferne.

He lost his head in more senses than one. The name would suit Aspinall as well as Gargantua's tutor, 'a great doctor who taught him his alphabet so well that he could say it by heart backwards'. Of Nathaniel we read that he was 'without guile'. If Don Armado's criticism of Holofernes in *Love's Labour's Lost* fits Aspinall, 'the Schoolmaster is exceedingly fantastical, too too vain', Costard's description of Sir Nathaniel suits Sir William, 'a foolish mild man; an honest man, look you, and

soon dashed; he is a marvellous good neighbour, faith, and a very good bowler'. There was a bowling-green in the Chapel Garden at Stratford in the rear of the Quad.

The first letters of Aspinall's name exposed him to an epitheton not unfrequently thrown at the head of vain and important people, as at Holofernes in the role of Judas:

Boyet. Adieu sweet Jude! nay, why dost thou stay?
Dumain. For the latter-end of his name.
Berowne. For the ass to the Jude.

Ass was the former-end of the Stratford pedagogue's name, which is sometimes spelt *Asspinall.*[1]

Shakespeare did not love Aspinall, but he could be polite to him. When the Schoolmaster betrothed himself to Widow Shaw of Henley Street, sometime before 28 October in the year 1594, he presented her with the customary pair of embroidered and perfumed gloves. Apparently he bought them at her friend Alderman Shakespeare's shop, for the Poet, being at home, sent with them a posy (so we learn from the late find in the Fane Commonplace Book):

The Gift is small, the Will is all:
Alexander Aspinall.

For nearly thirty years Master Aspinall and his wife lived in the Chapel Quad. She died in November 1623, he in February following.

16. ALDERMAN SHAKESPEARE'S RELIGION

IT is a good many years since the late Halliwell-Phillipps propounded the theory that John Shakespeare, the poet's father, while 'an outward conformist to the Protestant faith', was 'secretly attached to the old religion' (*Outlines*, i. 37; ii.

[1] Cf. the feeble joke in *Coriol.* ii. 1. 64 f.: 'I find the ass in compound with the major part of your syllables' (Sicini*ass* Velut*ass*, and Juni*ass* Brut*ass*?).

428). This theory, which has had a great vogue in consequence of the propounder's deserved reputation, was vigorously opposed by the Rev. T. Carter in *Shakespeare, Puritan and Recusant*, a work published in 1897, but not recognized as it should have been on account, perhaps, of its dubious title. He argued powerfully that John Shakespeare belonged to the Protestant majority in the Stratford Corporation at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, was active as the borough Chamberlain in Protestantizing ruthlessly the Gild Chapel, and as Deputy-Bailiff in disposing, with Adrian Quyney the Bailiff, of the Romanist vestments, was a passive resister under Whitgift's episcopate at Worcester, incurring fines and penalties and disposing of his property under appearance at least of stress (whence the theory of his poverty), and when presented in 1592 for recusancy, was one of the Puritan, not Catholic defaulters. Little noticed or heeded as these conclusions have been (Lee treated them with contempt, *Life*, 13, note [1]), they have been more than verified, I venture to think, by the researches of myself and others since—in Stratford and Warwickshire, at the Record Office, and elsewhere.

Very briefly I will give the grounds of my belief that Shakespeare's father was not a Romanist in disguise, but an aggressive Protestant, which was later called 'Puritan'.

John Shakespeare and his brother, Henry, were born and bred in Snitterfield (four miles from Stratford), which, under the influence of John Hales 'of the club-foot' and others, was an early home of the Reformation, almost as early as Hampton Lucy, close by, where in 1537 Squire William Lucy's parson, Edward Large, preached Protestantism.[2] John Shakespeare set up as a glover in Stratford (after apprenticeship there) in the reign of Edward VI, when Hooper was bishop of the diocese.

[1] Not a little that is valuable, in fact or opinion, was dropped by Lee into a footnote: e.g. pp. 6, 13, 276, 277 f., 280 f., 283

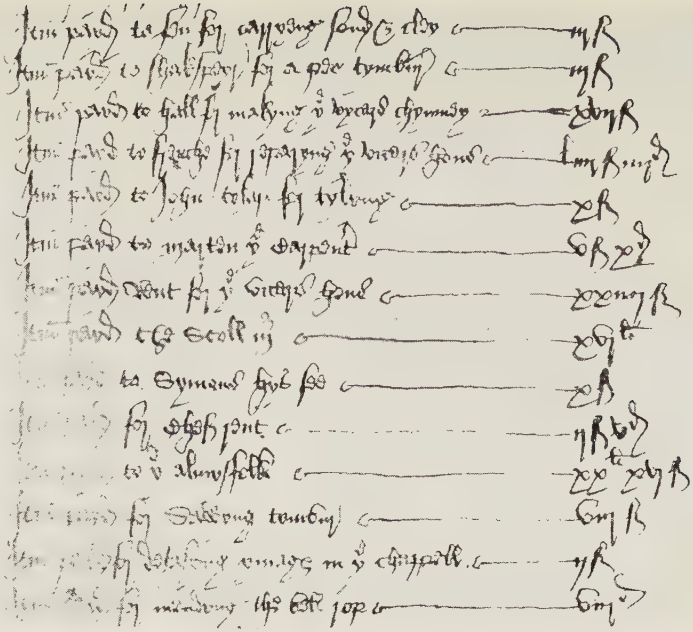
[2] *Shakespeare's Haunts*, 108–14.

The first two martyrs under Mary were Warwickshire men, and the third was Hooper. Rogers went to the stake at Smithfield on 4 February 1555, amid the cheers of the people and the exhortation of his children. Next day Saunders and Hooper were taken from prison in London to be burned in Coventry and Gloucester. Saunders perished on the 8th in the Little Park, at Coventry, comforted by the citizens; Hooper on the 9th, before his cathedral at Gloucester, in the presence of 7,000 people. Stratford was encircled by the ghastly burnings—again in Coventry and Gloucester, also in Lichfield, Leicester, Northampton, Oxford (where died the late bishop, so well known in the Shakespeare country, old Hugh Latimer, who had befriended Edward Large at Hampton Lucy), Banbury, and Wotton-under-Edge. Men intimately known in the district were martyrs or friends of the martyrs. These horrors entered into the hearts of Stratfordians. The town was fiercely divided in religion. The steward of the borough, who was a Catholic, Roger Edgeworth, found the Corporation unmanageable. A fine of 3*s*. 4*d*. was imposed in October 1553 (the beginning of Mary's reign), for reviling a Queen's officer; it was increased to 10*s*. in April following, with three days' imprisonment. On this date a penalty of £5 was imposed on any one who 'refused or forsook the office appointed unto him'. At Michaelmas, 1557, a book of orders was drawn up full of vindictive penalties, which the reader will find in *Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford*, 1553–1620, vol. I, xxviii f., 62–8. There was brawling in the town and drawing of blood, wherein leading men were involved. On 1 October 1557 an order was made:

'That no single-man dwelling in Stratford after Sunday now next coming do wear about him within the Borough or liberties of Stratford any bill, sword, wood-knife or dagger or any other such like weapon, under the pain of forfeiture of the same, and their bodies to prison, there to remain at the Baily's pleasure.'

In these days, under penalties of 40*s.* and £5 for refusal John Shakespeare began his career in municipal service as Taster and Constable. He was a Constable in the critical moment of Mary's death and Elizabeth's accession, with the task of depriving 'single-men' of their forbidden weapons. In the meantime he married Mary Arden. Her father died in 1556 a Catholic. What her views were, we cannot say; but her sister, Margaret, wife of Alexander Webbe, apparently married a Protestant.

On the accession of Elizabeth, the Corporation got rid of their steward, Edgeworth, and their Catholic vicar, Father Dyos, and elected Adrian Quyney Bailiff. On the day of Quyney's swearing-in, 14 October 1559 (1 Elizabeth), Catholic magistrates in the neighbourhood, Sir Robert Throgmorton, of Coughton, and Sir Edward Greville, of Milcote, directed a letter to the Corporation on behalf of Dyos (whose 'wages' had been 'stayed'), concluding 'We shall both desire you to see him paid, otherwise we shall not think so well of you as we have done'; an impotent threat which reminds us of Dogberry's: 'If they make you not then the better answer, you may say they are not the men you took them for.' Quyney was a Protestant leader, whose son, Richard, in after years was 'brother in the Lord' to Abraham Sturley, the Puritan lawyer. Sturley, whose letters are strewn with Biblical and other pious phrases, and Richard Quyney, who less numerously employs the same (as 'I thank God and much quiet my mind', 'the Lord willing', 'the Lord be with you and with us all', in his letter to Shakespeare), may have been members of the religious 'Brotherhood' of which Cartwright, at Warwick, was the centre. Adrian Quyney headed his letters 'Jesus', began them with a benediction, and uttered devout thanks. When that great Catholic, Squire Clopton, died in 1560, and his son, as a Catholic, fled abroad in 1563, the Corporation turned their attention to the Gild Chapel. It had been rebuilt (save the chancel) by Sir Hugh Clopton at the end of the last century, and out of respect



EXTRACT FROM JOHN SHAKESPEARE'S ACCOUNTS AS BOROUGH CHAMBERLAIN

(*official copy in the handwriting of Richard Symons, Town Clerk*) 10 *January* 1563/4

2nd item: Itm payd to shakspeyr for a pece tymbur . . iij^{s}
13th item: Itm payd for defasyng ymages in y^{e} chappell . . ij^{s}

'IMAGE' IN THE CHAPEL 'DEFACED' BY JOHN SHAKESPEARE AS CHAMBERLAIN 1562–3

(*From Gayley's* Plays of our Forefathers)

and fear of the Cloptons, the Corporation had left it (it was under their jurisdiction) intact. John Shakespeare, as acting-Chamberlain, supervised the Protestantizing of the building, which was ruthless. 'Images' were 'defaced' (i.e. frescoes and statues were disfigured, in the spirit of:

> when your carters or your waiting-vassals
> Have done a drunken slaughter, and *defaced*
> The precious *image* of our dear Redeemer),[1]

a table was substituted for the altar, the rood-loft was taken down, and a partition was erected between the nave and the chancel; whereby a later vicar, a 'minister of God's Word',[2] was enabled to use the chancel as a passage to his house, a playground for his children, a drying ground for his laundress, and a resort for his fowls and pigs.

For three years John Shakespeare was acting-Chamberlain, including the terrible plague-time, July–December, 1564, when the poet was a babe. He was of great service to the vicar, the first Protestant vicar, John Bretchgirdle, M.A., who was overworked (there were upwards of 250 burials in that half-year), paying for assistance; was instrumental in transforming the upper story of the Gild Hall into a schoolroom, instead of the little old school in the quad; providing premises in the Gild precinct for the new schoolmaster and his wife, who was Bretchgirdle's friend, John Brownsword, the Latinist poet, and bringing him and his household over from Warwick. Bretchgirdle died in 1565, doubtless from the effects of the plague. His books prove his interest in education (he had been a schoolmaster at Witton, Northwich, where Brownsword was his pupil) and his Protestant principles.[3] This year the grateful Corporation made John Shakespeare an Alderman. Henceforward he was Master Shakespeare.

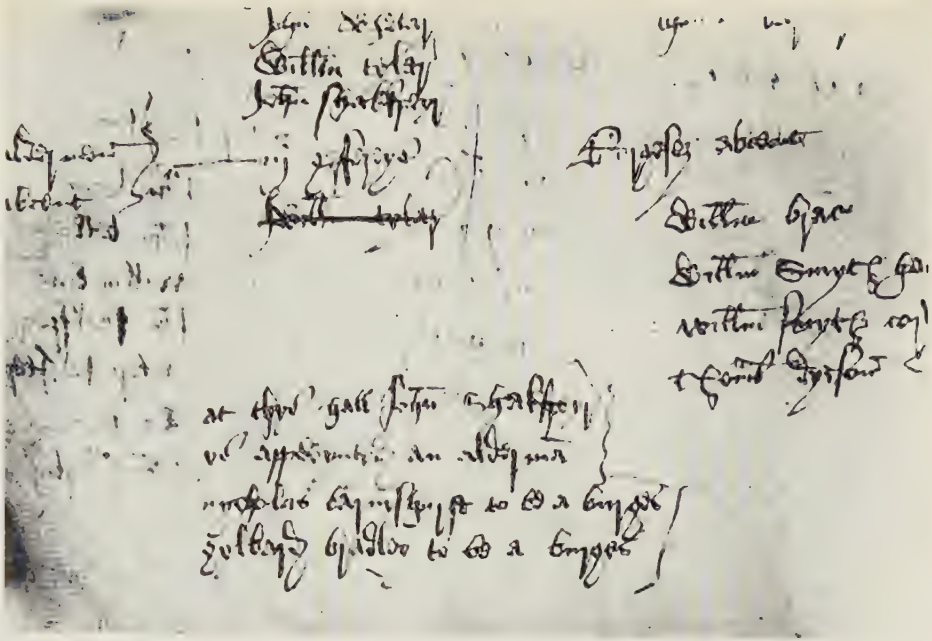
[1] *Richard III*, II. i. 122 f.
[2] Thomas Wilson, the friend of Shakespeare's son-in-law, Dr. Hall.
[3] Pp. 25–7.

Adrian Quyney used a mark, as well as his signature, in Corporation documents. It resembles the Hebrew *samech*. John Shakespeare's mark in legal deeds is a plain cross; in Corporation documents it is a very daintily-drawn pair of 'dividers', such as he would use in measuring and cutting fine leather, once it is a glover's clamp (or 'donkey'). The compasses probably signify 'God Encompasseth Us', or 'The Measure of my Days'. Save his initials, a ℔ appended to the inventory, made by himself and two others, of his neighbour Rafe Shawe in July 1592, no writing of John Shakespeare has been identified. His Chamberlain accounts are copies by the Town Clerk, Richard Symons, and very accurate, if we may accept Dr. Carter's shrewd surmise that the blunt item in the account presented in February 1566:

payd to Shakspeyr for a rest of old det iii$^{li.}$ ii$^{s.}$ vii$^{d.}$ ob.

reproduces the modest entry of the Chamberlain, without even 'John', not to mention 'Master', before his name. There is no known example of a Chamberlain unable to write. In some cases the rough original accounts are preserved with the official copies, and the personal touches of the Chamberlain are not unfrequent in them.

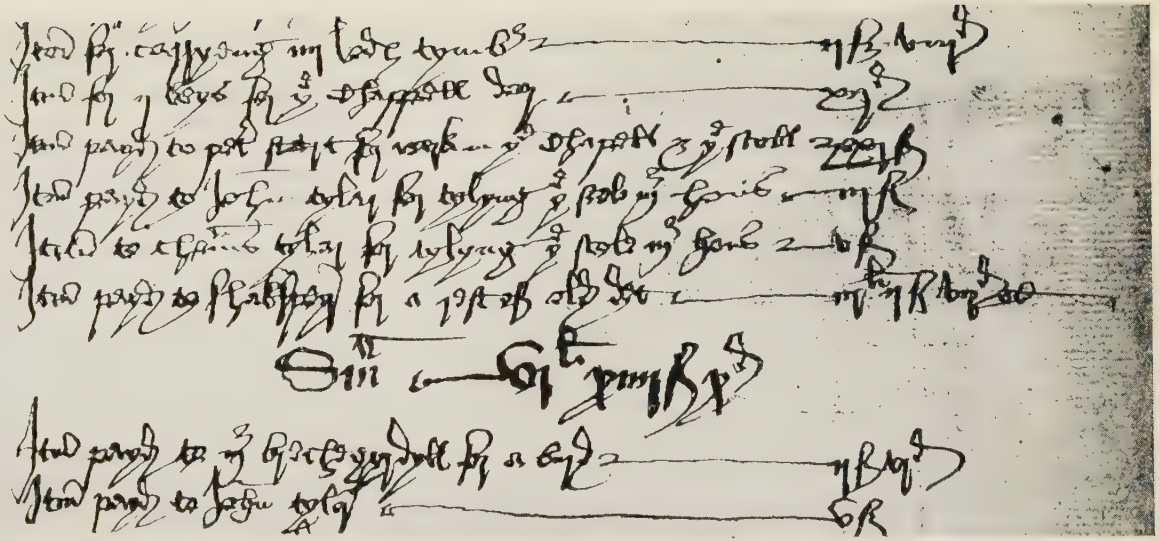
John Shakespeare was Bailiff, with John Wheeler his neighbour in Henley Street for deputy, in the exciting, not to say perilous, year 1568–9. Henry Higford, of Solihull, was Steward. The Queen of Scots was in the Midlands—at Tutbury, Wingfield, Chatsworth, Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Leicester, and at length, for safety, in the heart of England, Coventry. The Northern Rebellion followed, which collapsed on the arrival of the Earls of Warwick and Leicester, with their forces raised in the Midlands. In Stratford, vicar, curate, and schoolmaster departed, the two former at least under suspicion of Romanism—William Butcher 'being *in animo Catholicus*', his curate, Hil-



EXTRACT FROM THE TOWN CLERK'S MINUTES

of 4 July 1565 recording the appointment of John Shakespeare to be an Alderman

(at thys hall John Shakspeyr
ys appwyntyd an alderman
nycolas barnshurst to be a burges
gylbard bradley to be a burges)



EXTRACT FROM JOHN SHAKESPEARE'S ACCOUNTS AS BOROUGH CHAMBERLAIN

(*official copy in the handwriting of Richard Symons, Town Clerk*) 15 *February* 1565 6

6th item: Itm payd to shakspeyr for a rest of old det . . iij^{li} ij^{s} vij^{d} ob
7th item: Itm payd to M^{r} brechgyrdyll for a bord . . ij^{s} vj^{d}

man, *fugitivus*, or a runaway priest. Stratford at this moment was evidently intolerant of 'papists'.

John Shakespeare as Bailiff welcomed players. We know what kind of drama they presented, such as laid hold of young Willis at this very time at Gloucester. He saw *The Cradle of Security*, a finely acted morality, and contrasts it with the debased dramas of his old age (1639):

> 'We may observe how far unlike the plays and harmless morals of former times are to those which have succeeded, many of which may be termed schoolmasters of vice and provocations to corruption' (*Mount Tabor*, p. 112).

In 1571–2 John Shakespeare was Deputy-Bailiff to Adrian Quyney, with Henry Rogers now for Steward. Rogers and his predecessor Higford were Puritans. Again it was an exciting, perilous time—of a fiercely Protestant Parliament, loud for the execution of the Queen of Scots, of *The Admonition to Parliament*, and St. Bartholomew's massacre in Paris. The first act of the Corporation under Quyney and Shakespeare was to dispose of the Romanist vestments at the Chapel (10 October 1571):

Imprimis one suit of blue velvet, three in number. *Item* one suit of white damask, three in number. *Item* two copes of tawny velvet. *Item* one cope of white damask. *Item* one cope of blue velvet. *Item* three stoles and three [blank] for the hands.

The word omitted is 'manuaries', for 'handlers of relics', as old Latimer tells us in his famous sermon to Convocation in 1536. These 'relics of the Amorites' were to be sold 'to the use of the Chamber'. Copes made excellent bed-coverings.

In January, Quyney and Shakespeare rode to London on borough business, in the Hilary Term, and received £8 for their expenses. London was worth a visit at this moment by such downright colleagues. Presbyterianism, triumphant in Scotland, was to the front in England, and if it had not been

for the Queen, would probably have prevailed. To counteract it was not the least motive of her famous progress in the Midlands (including Warwickshire) this summer.

In the years 1572–6 Alderman Shakespeare was exemplary in attendance at the Council meetings, had a fifth child born to him in 1574, and so prospered in business that in 1575 he purchased the second and third houses of the block (now known as The Birthplace) in Henley Street, and in 1576 applied successfully for the coveted coat-armour of 'gentlehood', with a falcon *shaking* its wings, a *spear* on a shield, and a challenging motto, 'Non Sanz Droict'; a device obviously suggested by that of the coat-of-arms of his friend, Alderman Quyney.[1]

To belittle this grant, in the interest of a theory of the Poet's mean upbringing, is wholly unwarranted.[2] Alderman Shakespeare at the close of 1576, when his son William was in his thirteenth year, was 'a Queen's Officer', a Justice of Peace within the borough (past Bailiffs had a seat on the bench), possessing lands and tenements and goods to the value of £250 or £300 (say £3,000 to £4,000 in post-war money), and married to 'a daughter and heiress of Robert Arden, a gentleman of worship'; with a position therefore in the county as well as in Stratford. Historians have not adequately recognized the status of Shakespeare's father in 1576.

But a strange thing happened. At the eleventh hour, when the honour was practically his, Alderman Shakespeare declined it. He proceeded no further in it. Simultaneously, moreover, he retired from the Corporation and the magistrates' bench. On and after Account Day, 23 January 1577, he withdrew decisively and determinedly from municipal life.[3] After an un-

[1] *Shakespeare's Haunts*, 142–5.
[2] Lee, *Life*, 2, 13 n., 281–5.
[3] Lee (*Life*, 13) is entirely wrong when he says that 'after Michaelmas, 1572, he took a less active part in municipal affairs, and grew irregular in his attendance at the Council meetings'.

rivalled regularity (he was only once absent in thirteen years[1]), he failed to appear on the date named, and save on one occasion, he never appeared again.

Save by fire, a swift reversal of fortune is unusual in country-town life in Elizabeth's reign. There is no evidence that the Birthplace was burned in 1576 or at any time, though the West house probably suffered from fire-hooks in 1594. There is no evidence that Alderman Shakespeare one day found himself in strong personal disfavour, as Robert Perrott and William Bott had done. On the contrary, he was treated, as he had a right to be, by his colleagues in the Council with remarkable consideration. Only after nearly ten years' persistent non-attendance was his name removed from the list of Aldermen. Such an example of respect and toleration is without parallel in the history of Stratford.[2]

Why then this *volte-face*? We have arrived at a critical moment in Elizabethan statesmanship. Slowly but surely the Queen had gained autocratic power. Parker had died in May 1575, worn out by the opposition of Protestants, and furious with the Earl of Leicester, who led the Presbyterians. Grindal followed, who, if not in love with Presbyterians, was willing to concede much to them. Parliament met in February 1576, and severe things were said of Bishops. Peter Wentworth, a Puritan leader in Oxfordshire, for his speeches in the Commons was sent to the Tower. In April, the Queen appointed her Grand Commission Ecclesiastical, for the reformation of 'disorders' (departures from the Prayer Book and other nonconformities), and punishment of persons 'wilfully and obstinately absenting themselves from church'. The same month died Bullingham, Bishop of Worcester since 1571, with Puritan

[1] On 27 Sept. 1565.

[2] Nothing was less like expulsion. Lee's statement (*Life*, 14 f.) that he was 'deprived of his alderman's gown' is quite misleading. Lee dabbles in Stratford matters—as in others concerning the Poet.

sympathies. Whitgift was named as his successor. He was then at Cambridge, Master of Trinity College, 'exact in executing statutes', a martinet in discipline, and a spy upon his scholars. Here was the instrument Her Majesty wanted. She sent him into the Midlands to oppose the Dudleys at Kenilworth and Warwick, and the Puritan strongholds of Coventry and the Welsh Marches.

John Shakespeare, among others, prepared to meet the worst. 'Nominated' in March 1577, Whitgift was 'consecrated' in April; and in June Archbishop Grindal was sequestered for his refusal to suppress the Puritan 'prophesyings'. In the summer, Whitgift made visitation of his diocese in the hope of catching recusants. At Stratford he and his officers received a gift of wine, but no names of recusants worth capture. Throughout his diocese he did not get the name of a single 'gentleman'—merely lists of 'drunken' persons, 'poor' and 'very beggars', 'excommunicated' without 'lands or goods'. Sir Thomas Lucy, a Puritan, would not help him, even to a Catholic. Complaining to his Dean, the latter told him he would not obtain the facts unless he put the 'ministers' (the Puritan, not the Catholic clergy) and leading parishioners to their oath and cross-examination. He lamented to Burghley that 'two kinds of men delighted in molesting and troubling him, namely the contentious Protestant and the stubborn Papist', and both had backing from the 'great men', i.e. the Earls of Leicester and Warwick. To gain supporters among the canons and magistrates, he asked for the right to appoint them.

Leicester led the opposition to the French Marriage. Simier was in England all 1579 to negotiate it. Preachers fulminated against it, even in the Chapel Royal. 'The people threaten revolution', wrote Mendoza to Philip II. 'They know', said Philip Sidney boldly to the Queen herself, that the Duc d'Alençon, her proposed husband, 'is the son of the Jezebel of

our age'. To carry arms and wear armour were forbidden. Assemblies of nonconforming Protestants in the diocese of Gloucester were pronounced 'a danger to the realm'. In Oxfordshire there was 'great resort' to the houses of leading Puritans (such as Peter Wentworth) 'for communion'. Leicester, after a quarrel with Whitgift in the Queen's presence, retired to Kenilworth 'malcontent' and predicting 'broken heads'. The Stratford Corporation, under a Bailiff with a Catholic wife and Catholic sympathies, was divided and disorganized—no act could be done 'for lack of company', or 'the whole' company was 'proclaimed'. Extra musters were held 'for the defence of the realm, against attempts *both inward and outward*, and for the preservation of the peace'. The Privy Council warned the Queen of 'the uneasy humour' in her people. 'Rome,' said Lord Keeper Bacon, 'has her musters in England, intestine and inward.' Leicester wrote from Kenilworth to Burghley, 'Since Queen Mary's time the papists were never in that jollity they be at this present in this country' (Warwickshire).

Alderman Shakespeare had curled up like a hedgehog at the approach of the dog. He refused to pay his levies for extra 'pikemen' and 'gunmen'. He was assessed at 3*s.* 4*d.* in January 1578. In March 1579, with nine others, he was presented for non-payment. The others included Master Reynolds, a leading townsman and a Catholic, assessed at 3*s.* 4*d.*, George Badger, a Catholic, assessed at 12*d.*, and Master Nash, a well-to-do Protestant, assessed at 3*s.* 4*d.* There is evidence of friendship between the Shakespeares, the Reynoldses and the Nashes (William Shakespeare left money for memorial rings to William Reynolds and Anthony and John Nash in 1616), and we are warranted in believing that a common resentment to persecution, not a common want of cash, linked them in their refusal to pay for these soldiers.

It is doubtful whether Alderman Shakespeare paid. The

Corporation dealt with him more than leniently. He objected to the poor-rate (the fines by recusants went in part to the poor); they assessed him as low as 4*d*. a week (on 19 November 1578); but we may doubt whether he paid. He was let off his fine for absence on Election Day (3 September 1578), when his neighbours, John Wheeler and William Smith, were amerced 20*s*. and 10*s*. for this offence. Apparently his old friends on the Council hoped that the storm would blow over (as indeed it did after a much longer period than they anticipated), and he would return to the work they knew to be after his heart.

In the meanwhile he safeguarded his property outside the parish from Whitgift and his 'trotting 'paritors', as William Shakespeare called them. 'Preventions in use to deceive' were 'common' among the persecuted, and only too effective all over the country. They were in operation in Coventry among Protestants in 1558, and in Whitgift's diocese among both Protestants and Catholics in 1577–83. Whitgift complained to Burghley in 1584, after six years' experience of the Shakespeare country:

> 'It is hard to get witnesses against the Puritans because most of the parishioners favour them and therefore will not present them nor appear against them. If Archbishops and Bishops should be driven to use proofs by witnesses only, the execution of the law would be partial, and their charges in procuring and producing witnesses would be intolerable.'

Recusants removed their goods or delivered them over to neighbours, demised their lands to tenants or conveyed them to relatives, in form of law, secretly relying on their trusty friendship. Hence Alderman Shakespeare's making-over of his wife's farm of Asbies to her brother-in-law, Edmund Lambert, in November 1578, and of her share in the Snitterfield property to her nephew, Robert Webbe, in October 1579. The curious and intricate transactions with regard to the first

strongly confirm the belief that Alderman Shakespeare soon suspected the fidelity of Lambert and tried to undo what he had done; while the remarkable coincidence of dates in his dealings with Lambert and Webbe more than suggest that he raised money on Asbies secretly to help his nephew to purchase the Snitterfield estate.

Be that as it may, Alderman Shakespeare felt secure enough in his possessions to venture, with many others, on a defiant attitude towards the outside authorities about the end of 1579 or beginning of 1580, when the menace of a Catholic marriage was most threatening. He was a marked man, and was bound over, perhaps at Warwick, for some indiscretion in word or act, probably a treasonable speech, to appear at the Queen's Bench on a specified date, with sureties to answer for his keeping the peace. In June 1580, not having appeared, he incurred the very heavy penalty of £40—say £500 in post-war money. Two hundred and twenty more were fined, chiefly from the Puritan strongholds of London, East Anglia, the Midlands, and the Welsh Marches. By a clever preconcerted plan, John and his sureties were distributed in three dioceses, and the difficulties of prosecution and recovery in these independent jurisdictions probably encouraged them in the hope that though liable they were immune. Such, however, was not the case. They had to pay, and John Shakespeare, to escape worse punishment, forfeited his £40 (*Coram Rege Roll*, Anglia, 20, 21; and Exchequer Accounts Trinity Term, 22 Eliz.).

Here, certainly, was not the behaviour of an impecunious and broken tradesman, such as we are accustomed to read of in the 'biographies'. Rather of that character, at first sight, are the Alderman's proceedings in the Court of Record and elsewhere in the years 1582–6. He is sued by his tenant (probably of the West House of the Birthplace), William Burbage, for £7, the refund of his fine of the lease, and ordered by arbitrators, who sat in Cheap, London, on 24 July 1582, to

pay it. He declines, and resists payment until 1592. What his grievance was, if any, we know not (Court of Common Pleas, 40/1697, 327; 1497, 1122).[1] Knowledge and defiance of the law may, or may not, have made him litigious. John Browne, a woollen draper, obtained a verdict against him for a debt in October 1585. A *distringas* was issued twice in November. The Serjeants reported the customary *nihil habet* in January 1586. Twice, in February and March, a *capias* was sent out for his arrest. In August, Browne died, apparently having received his money. Browne owed money to Alderman Shakespeare's friend, Nicholas Barnhurst, for which the latter sued the widow. In her turn, the widow sued Squire Clopton for the very large sum of £80. Clopton denied the debt, and on 10 February 1587, on her complaint, the Privy Council appointed Sir Thomas Lucy, Edward Aglionby, Bartholomew Hales, one Smith of Camden, and Nicholas Lane, to hear the matter (*Acts*, xiv. 324 f.). Nicholas Lane was a Stratford yeoman who lived in Bridge Town. On 4 June 1586, as Lane declared, Alderman Shakespeare made himself surety for £10 of a debt of £22 owing to Lane from the Alderman's brother, Henry Shakespeare, of Ingon. That does not look like impecuniosity, especially when we know that Lane was a shrewd money-lender. At the close of 1586 or beginning of 1587, unable to get payment from Henry, Lane sued John, and gained a verdict. A *capias* was issued, and John was arrested, to be released on the security of his friend, Alderman Hill. Again he was brought into Court, and on 29 March he produced a writ of *habeas corpus*, with removal of the case to the Queen's Bench.

It is easy to interpret such resistance to Burbage, Browne and Lane as dogged determination in the light of further facts. Twice in 1586 the old Alderman sat on a jury, which is evidence that he had not lost caste; and this same year he was guilty

[1] Communicated by Dr. Hotson to *The Times*, 29 Dec. 1926.

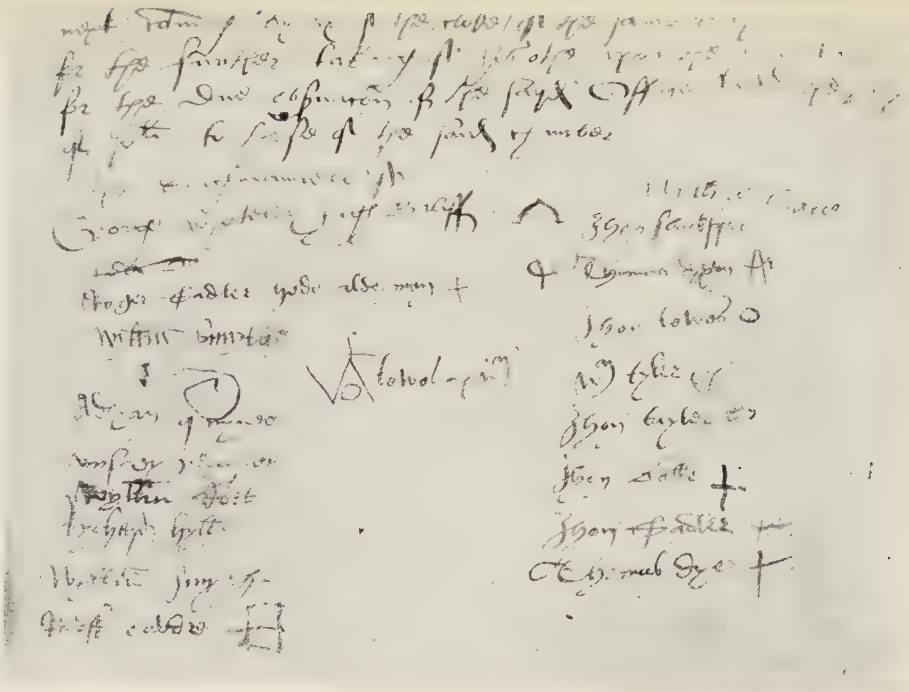
of an act of generosity which proves his financial ability and impetuous humanity. A coppersmith, of the name of Thomas Jones or James, apparently came to him on behalf of a brother of his craft, one Michael Pryce, a tinker of Henley Street (and no doubt known to the Poet's father), who had got into trouble at Coventry on a charge of felony. Alderman Shakespeare and Jones rode over to Coventry, one summer day in July, and obtained Pryce's release from prison, with a bail of £10 apiece. But Michael played false, failed to appear in the Queen's Bench, and his recognizance-money was forfeit (*Controlment Roll*, 223 m. 44 Michaelmas, 1586).

Years pass, and the tide turns against the Presbyterians. The Earl of Leicester made Thomas Cartwright master of his Hospital in Warwick in 1585. Under Cartwright's influence Warwickshire for some years was a Presbyterian stronghold. He preached in the Gild Chapel at Stratford in 1586 and 1587. On the former occasion he was accompanied by Job Throgmorton of Haseley, leader soon afterwards of the 'Martin Marprelate' brotherhood. While the great Dudleys lived at Kenilworth and Warwick, Cartwright and Throgmorton had nothing to fear, and lesser delinquents were more or less safe from Whitgift. But Leicester died, after the defeat of the Armada, in September 1588; and his brother, Ambrose, died in February 1590. The latter was hardly in his grave when Whitgift pounced upon his old enemy, and scattered his following. Cartwright preached no more, and was sent to prison. Throgmorton fled for his life, into hiding, secrecy, lying, the guardianship of men in high places. Humbler folk, stubborn burghers, John Shakespeare, Nicholas Barnhurst, John Wheeler, were caught at last in the recusants' net, with neighbours of the opposite creed, Cloptons, Reynoldses, Cawdreys, John Lane, and others. Twice in 1592 this mixed company was presented, at Easter and at Michaelmas, by friendly churchwardens and no less friendly magistrates. The terms of the twofold pre-

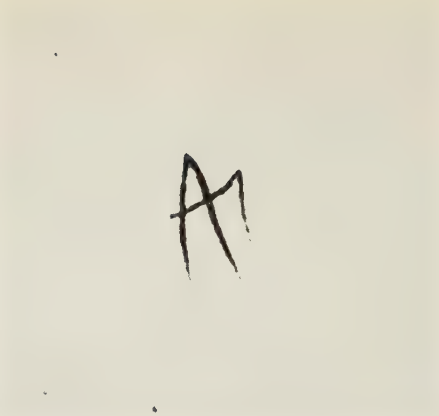
sentation prove the friendliness. Of the forty-one names in the earlier presentment, thirteen are 'suspected' only, including John Shakespeare, Wheeler and his son, Barnhurst, Adrian Quyney's stepsons, Baynton and Bardolf, and three others, who appear in a group by themselves under the heading: 'We suspect these nine persons absent themselves for fear of process' (*Warwick Castle* MSS.). In the autumn presentment are names of four persons 'indicted', and no less than thirty-four unindicted. The former are 'wilful', 'obstinate' or, in one case, 'suspected to be a Jesuit'. The latter include one 'departed', two 'dead' (one of whom was Squire Clopton), four unable 'to come to the church for age and other infirmities', seventeen or eighteen (among them the Catholic stalwarts) who 'have now all either conformed themselves and go to the church, or else have *promised* to conform themselves and to go to the church', and the above group of John Shakespeare and his fellows, under the revised heading, '*It is said* that these last nine come not to church for fear of process for debt' (*S. P. Dom. Eliz.* ccxliii. 76). Evidently the commissioners (Sir Thomas Lucy, Sir Fulke Greville, Sir John Harrington of Combe, Sir Henry Goodyere, Sir Thomas Leigh, Robert Burgoyne and three more) were content to make examples of a few contumacious Romanists, and to let off the rest, Catholics and Protestants, their peaceable neighbours. They were certainly not men to play into the hands of Whitgift.

'Fear of process' was an old and recognized excuse; and its *repetition* in the case of the *same* nine, *after an interval of six months*, is more than suspicious. Bardolf[1] may have had an empty pocket (and a red nose), but Master Wheeler was wealthy, Master Barnhurst was not poor, and Master Shake-

[1] His name is spelt in the returns, 'Bardell' and 'Bardolfe'. That Shakespeare had this unsatisfactory neighbour in mind when he painted Falstaff's satellite, is confirmed by the 'Bardell' and 'Bardolfe' of the Quartos 1598 and 1600 of *1 Henry IV* and *2 Henry IV* respectively.



SIGNATURES AND MARKS OF THE CORPORATION
27 *September* 1564
(*Illustration from* Minutes and Accounts, i, p. 134)



JOHN SHAKESPEARE'S MARK *(enlarged)*
6 October 1559

INITIALS OF JOHN SHAKESPEARE
appended to the Inventory made by himself and others of the goods and chattels of his neighbour in Henley Street, Rafe Shawe (the father of Julines Shawe), 24 July 1592
1591
Endorsed: Inv^ty. R. Shawe
(1591 *is a slip for* 1592)

speare owned at least the three houses in Henley Street. The last, indeed, went in fear of the precept from the Common Pleas in the Easter Term (12 April–8 May) of execution against him by William Burbage, but that this kept him from church seems ridiculous. It did not keep him from the honourable and public function of appraising, with others, the goods of Rafe Shaw in Henley Street, on Monday 24 July, nor those of Henry Field in Bridge Street, on Monday 21 August. In peril on Sunday he was safe on Monday.[1]

In the recusancy returns of four years later by the new bishop, Thomas Bilson, complaint was made that 'Warwick *and the parts thereabout* are freighted with a number of men precisely conceited against her Majesty's government ecclesiastical, and they trouble the people as much with their curiosity as the other (the Romanists) with their obstinacy' (Bilson to Robert Cecil, 17 July 1596, *Hatfield MSS.*, VI). John Shakespeare does not appear; but we find John Wheeler, gentleman, and his wife, John Smith, gentleman (the vintner of High Street, Stratford, who, there is reason to believe, was John Shakespeare's godson), and Thomas Greene, gentleman, John Shakespeare's kinsman of the Middle Temple, a 'Puritan knave'. The Poet's father, near seventy years of age, probably was left in peace as incorrigible. And this in spite of a new grant to him of coat-armour, in October 1596. For the last four or five years of his life he was John Shakespeare 'gentleman'.

One further fact clinches our belief in his Puritanism. In 1599 his son, evidently in his name, sought impalement of the Shakespeare coat-of-arms with that of the Arden family. This was granted; and a sketch was made, in the margin of the draft, of the Shakespeare shield and spear with the *ermine, a fess checky or and azure* of the Park Hall kinsmen. John Shakespeare evidently would not consent to the device. It was altered, and

[1] *Minutes and Accounts*, IV. xxxii–xl.

for the ermine, a fess checky, of the Park Hall traitors was substituted the *gules, three cross crosslets fitché, a chief or* of the only Arden who was a Protestant, namely, John Shakespeare's old contemporary, Simon Arden, still living and resident at Longcroft, Yoxall, in Staffordshire (French, *Shakespeareana Genealogica*, 416–30; *Camden Miscellany*, ix. 3, 1–8, 39, 44 ff.).

The Poet, probably for his mother's sake, was not so satisfied with the substitution. He never adopted it.

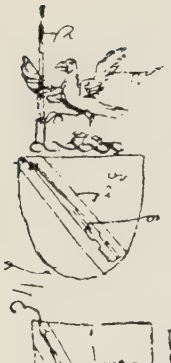
A pleasant last glimpse of the old gentleman has come to light in the Plume MS: 'A merry cheek'd old man, that said, *Will is a good, honest fellow, but he durst crack a jest with him at any time.*'

Industrious, courageous, generous, shrewd, uncompromising, and proud of his son's honesty, is the man I think we may see, however dimly, in the all too scanty records.[1]

17. SHAKESPEARE'S USE OF OVID'S *METAMORPHOSES*

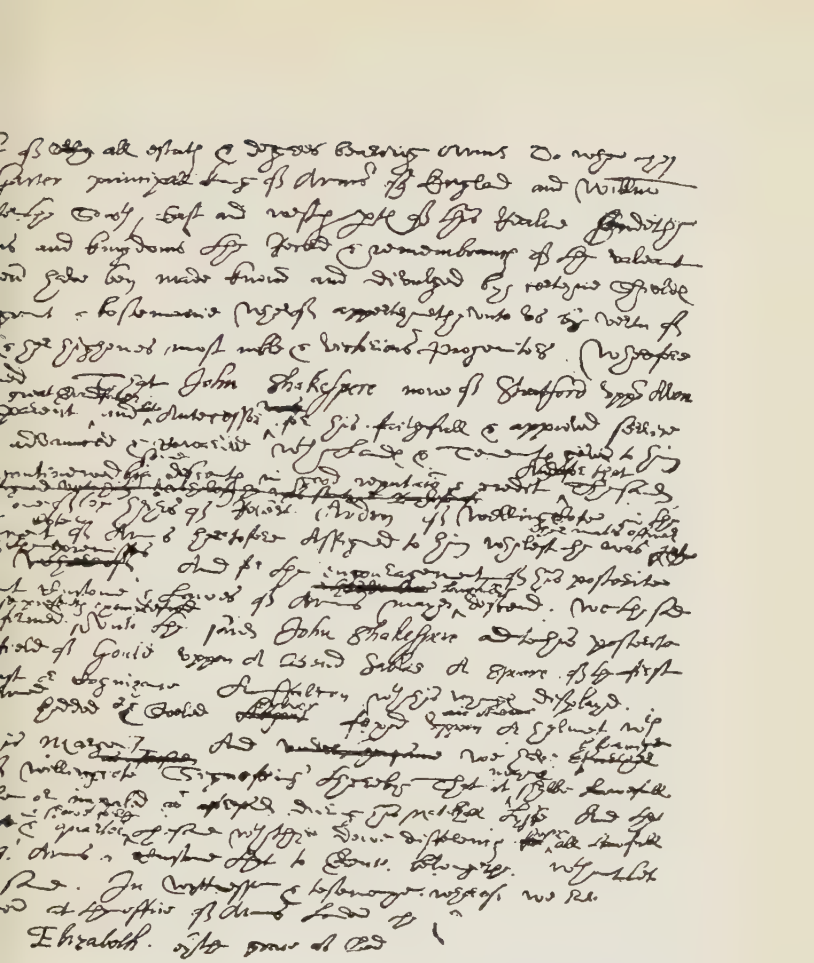
AMONG the foggy fallacies which darken Shakespeare from us, is the notion, widespread and unpardonable, that he acquired his knowledge of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, not from the original, but from a clownish translation, not unknown to him, by Arthur Golding, published in 1566. I think my reader, who will take the pains to look up the references in both Ovid and Shakespeare, will agree with me that Shakespeare, as he should after seven years at an excellent Latin School, knew his school-book from end to end, and, what is more to the purpose, *loved* it, and that cynical Jaques' schoolboy is no portrait of Alderman Shakespeare's son. This is evidence, if we wanted it, of William Shakespeare's happiness in Stratford. In Ovid's work Shakespeare

[1] He was hardly the man to speak of his son's 'honesty' had the latter deserted his home for the illicit attractions of 'a dark lady'.



GRANT (CORRECTED) TO JOHN SHAKES

(*From Walter's* S



F IMPALEMENT WITH ARDEN ARMS
s True Life)

had a mine of material for his plays and poems. Here he found Chaos,[1] and the *rudis indigestaque moles*[2] which he reproduced again and again ('heap of indigested lump', 'indigest and deformed lump', 'indigest so shapeless and so rude')[3] in association with the chaotic and disorderly;[4] the Four Elements;[5] Creation (which he identified with that recorded in *Genesis*) and its boundaries, and man's dominion over the creatures:

> *Vix ita limitibus dissaepserat omnia certis,*
> *cum, quae pressa diu fuerant caligine caeca,*
> *sidera coeperunt toto effervescere caelo;*
> *neu regio foret ulla suis animalibus orba,*
> *astra tenent caeleste solum formaeque deorum,*
> *cesserunt nitidis habitandae piscibus undae,*
> *terra feras cepit, volucres agitabilis aer.*
> *Sanctius his animal mentisque capacius altae*
> *deerat adhuc et quod dominari in cetera posset:*
> *natus homo est, sive hunc divino semine fecit*
> *ille Opifex rerum . . .*[6]

which he paraphrased briefly,

> There is nothing situate under Heaven's eye
> But hath his bound, in earth, in sea, in sky:
> The beasts, the fishes, and the winged fowls . . .
> Men more divine, the masters of all these,
> Lords of the wide world and wild watery seas,
> Indued with intellectual sense and souls,
> Of more pre-eminence than fish and fowls . . .;[7]

the Golden Age (*aetas aurea*),[8] which he identified with Para-

[1] Bk. i. 1–20; *Oth.* III. iii. 92, &c. [2] l. 7.
[3] *2 Hen. VI*, v. i. 157; *3 Hen. VI*, v. vi. 51 (cf. III. ii. 153–62); *John*, v. vii. 26 f.; *Sonnets*, cxiv. 5–7.
[4] *Mm. & Acc.* III. xix f.
[5] Bk. i. 21–31, 52 f.; *Twelfth N.* II. iii. 10, &c.
[6] Bk. i. 69–79. [7] *Com. of E.* II. i. 16–18, 20–3.
[8] Bk. i. 89–112. See *Temp.* II. i. 147–68 (a mixture of Biblical and Ovidian elements).

dise before Adam transgressed;[1] Saturn's dethronement by his energetic sons, Jupiter, Neptune, and Dis (Ovid's name for Pluto), Astraea's departure from the earth (*terras Astraea reliquit*[2]) and the Deluge, whose hero, Deucalion, he identified with Noah.[3] Here were Jupiter or Jove, the almighty (*omnipotens*[4]) King of gods (*rex, summus deum*[5]), lord of the heavens, hurler of lightning and thunderer (*tonans*[6]), his 'nod' or 'beck'[7] and 'sceptre',[8] his wife Juno,[9] his 'herald' Mercury,[10] his 'page' Ganymede,[11] his Bird the Eagle,[12] his Tree the Oak, with its acorns, *quae deciderant patula Iovis arbore glandes*,[13] referred to by Rosalind,

> It may well be called 'Jove's Tree' when it drops forth such fruit;[14]

and Neptune, god of the waters,[15] his 'arms' (*bracchia*[16]), his 'trident' (*tridens*[17]), and 'yellow sands' (*fulvae arenae*, a

[1] *Com. of E.* IV. iii. 16, and *M. Ado*, II. i. 260.
[2] Bk. i. 150; *Tit. Andr.* IV. iii. 4.
[3] In *Com. of E.* III. ii. 108, and *As You*, V. iv. 35, Shakespeare refers to Noah, in *Jul. Caes.* I. ii. 152, to Deucalion ('with one man, but one man, one only man'; cf. Bk. i. 325, *superesse virum unum*).
[4] Bk. i. 154; 'Jove multipotent', *Tro. & Cres.* IV. v. 129.
[5] Bk. i. 251, ii. 280; 'thou King of gods', *Tro. & Cres.* II. iii. 12.
[6] *Rector Olympi, qui fera terribili iaculatur fulmina dextra* (Bk. ii. 60 f.); 'Thunder-darter of Olympus' (*Tro. & Cres.* II. iii. 10 f.). *Ille notam fulgore dedit tonitruque secundo* (vii. 619); 'Jove's lightnings, precursors of the dreadful thunderclaps' (*Temp.* I. ii. 201 f.). Cf. *Love's L. L.* IV. ii. 119, *Oth.* III. iii. 356, *Tro. & Cres.* II. iii. 10, *Cor.* III. i. 257.
[7] Bk. ii. 849 (*nutu*), xiv. 816 (*adnuit*). Cf. *Ant. & Cleop.* III. xi. 60.
[8] Bk. i. 178, ii. 847. Cf. *Ant. & Cleop.* IV. xv. 75.
[9] Pp. 107–9 [10] Bk. i. 671 ff.; *Rich. III*, IV. iii. 55.
[11] Bk. x. 155–61; *As You*, I. iii. 126 f.
[12] Bk. iv. 714, x. 157; *Cymb.* IV. ii. 348, V. v. 427.
[13] Bk. i. 106, vii. 623.
[14] *As You*, III. ii. 249. Cf. *3 Hen. VI*, V. ii. 14; *Temp.* V. i. 45.
[15] Bk. i. 275.
[16] Bk. i. 13 f., ii. 270. 'That Neptune's arms who clippeth thee about' (*K. John*, V. ii. 34). (Lit. the arms of Amphitrite his wife in i. 14).
[17] Bk. i. 283; *Cor.* III. i. 256, *Temp.* I. ii. 206.

favourite phrase of Ovid's,[1] twice used by Shakespeare, in lovely passages:

> And sat with me on Neptune's *yellow sands*
> Marking the embarked traders on the flood;[2]

and

> Come unto these *yellow sands*,
> And then take hands,
> Curtsied when you have and kiss'd,
> The wild waves whist),[3]

and his trumpeter Triton, whose blast from a sea-shell summoned the waters and *coercuit omnes* (whence the 'peremptory *shall*' of that 'Triton of the minnows', Sicinius, in *Coriolanus* III. i. 88–94).[4] Here, too, was 'dusky Dis'[5] (*niger Dis*[6]), lord of Erebus,[7] the 'Underground'[8] (*opaci mundi inferni*[9]), with its marshy stream, Styx,[10] and the 'ferryman'[11] (*portitor*[12]), Charon, the 'three-headed canis'[13] (*tria colla canis*[14]) Cerberus, 'still-pining Tantalus'[15] and his 'annoy'[16] (*tibi, Tantale, nullae deprenduntur aquae*[17]), the 'Furies fell'[18] (*grave et implacabile numen*[19]) 'crowned with snakes'[20] (*crinibus angues*[21]), tormentors

[1] Bk. ii. 865, ix. 36, xi. 355 (cf. *Tam. Sh.* I. i. 172).
[2] *Mid. N. D.* II. i. 126 f.
[3] *Temp.* I. ii. 376.
[4] A passage unintelligible without reference to *Metam.* i. 330–42, and ix. 27–88. The images are mixed: Triton is 'the horn and noise' of Neptune in Ovid, as Sicinius in Shakespeare is both Triton and the horn and noise of the Hydra (the People): whose 'horn' is broken off by Hercules and made 'Cornucopia' by the Naiads.
[5] *Temp.* IV. i. 89.
[6] Bk. iv. 438.
[7] Bk. v. 543.
[8] *2 Hen. VI*, I. ii. 79; II. i. 174.
[9] Bk. v. 507 f.
[10] *aqua, palus, iners, gurges, unda, amnis.*
[11] *Rich. III*, I. iv. 46.
[12] Bk. x. 73.
[13] *Love's L. L.* v. ii. 593.
[14] Bk. x. 65 f.
[15] *Lucr.* 858.
[16] *Ven. & Ad.* 599.
[17] Bk. iv. 458 f.
[18] *Mid. N. D.* v. i. 298.
[19] Bk. iv. 452.
[20] *Ant. & Cleop.* II. v. 40.
[21] Bk. iv. 454.

of the mind, not of the body, possessing the souls of the guilty with madness (*mens est quae diros sentiat ictus*,[1]

> The sight of any of the house of York
> Is as a Fury to torment my soul:
> I live in Hell),[2]

sitting before Hell's 'strong gates'[3] (*fores clausas adamante sedebant*,[4] with a lap for Pistol[5]); the 'black pit of Acheron'[6] *ex Acheronte silvis sub atris, imum Acheronta*[7]) the abode of 'triple Hecate'[8] (*triceps Hecate, diva triformis*)[9] and her 'team'[10] of winged dragons (*curru pennisque draconum*[11]), goddess of sorcery and patroness of witches (*coeptis conscia nostris adiutrixque*),[12] the instrument of Satan in *Macbeth*.[13] Dis was not only 'King of Shadows' (as Oberon is called after him[14]), *dominus umbrarum*,[15] but lord of the 'blessed in Elysium';[16] whence, after an earthquake in Etna, he drove in his 'waggon', otherwise a chariot drawn by black horses, into the Upper World, and in Sicily, shot to the heart by Cupid's arrow, he fell in love with Ceres' daughter, Proserpina.[17] She was gathering 'flowers of the spring'[18] (*legeret vernos Proserpina flores*[19]), 'violets' and 'lilies'[20] (*violas, lilia carpit*[21]), and catching her up he carried her away, 'frighted'[22] (*territa*[23]) and 'letting fall'[24] her

[1] Bk. iv. 499.
[2] *3 Hen. VI*, I. iii. 30 f., 33.
[3] *Tro. & Cres.* v. ii. 153.
[4] Bk. iv. 453.
[5] *2 Hen. IV*, v. iii. 110.
[6] *Mid. N. D.* III. ii. 157; *Mac.* III. v. 15.
[7] Bk. v. 541, xi. 504.
[8] *Mid. N. D.* v. i. 391.
[9] Bk. vii. 194, 177.
[10] *Mid. N. D.* v. i. 391.
[11] Bk. vii. 234.
[12] 194 f.
[13] iii. 5.
[14] *Mid. N. D.* III. ii. 347.
[15] Bk. x. 16.
[16] *Two Gent.* II. vii. 38.
[17] Bk. v. 385–404. Cf. *Wint. T.* IV. iv. 115–27. Interesting is the suggestion of *frondibus ut velo Phoebeos submovet ictus* for 'ere they can behold bright Phoebus in his strength'.
[18] *Wint. T.* IV. iv. 113.
[19] Bk. v. 554.
[20] *Wint. T.* IV. iv. 120, 126.
[21] Bk. v. 392.
[22] *Wint. T.* IV. iv. 117.
[23] Bk. v. 396.
[24] *Wint. T.* IV. iv. 117.

treasures (*collecti flores tunicis cecidere*[1]), to 'vasty Tartar'[2] (*inania Tartara*[3]), there, as his queen, to share his palace (*regia*[4]), and the trim gardens (*culti horti*[5]) which Troilus, in his infatuation, conceives in terms of the *Song of Solomon*:[6]

> I stalk about her door,
> Like a strange soul upon the Stygian banks
> Staying for waftage: O, be thou my Charon,
> And give me swift transportance to those Fields
> Where I may wallow in the lily-beds
> Proposed for the deserver.[7]
>
> (*Styx nebulas exhalat iners, umbraeque recentes*
> *descendunt illac simulacraque functa sepulchris:*
> *pallor hiemsque tenent late loca senta, novique*
> *qua sit iter manes Stygiam quod ducat ad urbem*
> *ignorant, ubi sit nigri fera regia Ditis.*)[8]

Here also was Apollo, the Sun-god (Phoebus, Hyperion, Titan, Sol), whom the Poet identified with the 'Bridegroom' and 'Champion' of the Nineteenth Psalm, 'that wandering Knight so fair'.[9] 'Young Phoebus'[10] (*iuvenis deus*[11]), coming forth from his 'lodging'[12] (*regia*[13]), 'lifted up his burning head',[14] with golden hair (*caput flavum*[15]), 'Hyperion's curls',[16] and 'climbed the steep-up heavenly hill'[17] (*ardua prima via est*[18]),

[1] Bk. v. 399. [2] *Hen. V*, II. ii. 123.
[3] Bk. xi. 670. [4] Bk. iv. 438. [5] Bk. v. 535.
[6] 'My well beloved is gone down into his garden to the beds of spices, to feed in the gardens and to gather lilies. I am my well beloved's and my well beloved is mine, who feedeth among the lilies' (vi. 1 f.).
[7] *Tro. & Cres.* III. ii. 9–14.
[8] Bk. iv. 434–8: 'Styx, sluggish, breathes forth mists; and shades of the new-dead and souls of those whose funeral rites have been celebrated, go down that way, wanness and winter occupy far and wide the waste places, and the new-come spirits know not the way which leads to the Stygian City, where stands the dread palace of black Dis.'
[9] *1 Hen. IV*, I. ii. 6 ff. [10] *Hen. V*, III. chorus 6.
[11] Bk. i. 531. [12] *Rom. & Jul.* III. ii. 2.
[13] Bk. ii. 1. [14] *Sonnets*, vii. 1.
[15] Bk. xi. 165. [16] *Haml.* III. iv. 56.
[17] *Sonnets*, vii. 5. [18] Bk. ii. 63.

whence he looked down on sea and land (*medio est altissimo coelo, unde mare et terras videre*[1]), in his glorious chariot (*currus*[2])—'holy Phoebus' Car'[3]—with 'wheels' (*rotae*)[4] of gold and silver, and yoke of chrysolite and jewels (*gemmae*[5]) ('carbuncles'[6] is Shakespeare's interpretation, stones of a deep red colour which he admired[7]), drawn by 'steeds' which pastured on ambrosia beneath the evening star (*axe sub Hesperio sunt pascua Solis equorum: ambrosiam pro gramine habent*[8]), and watered, as Shakespeare added, at sunrise, 'at those springs on chaliced flowers that lies'.[9]

Phaethon, his son, driving the chariot for a day, lost control and nearly burnt up the earth—the tragedy of 'daring folly'[10] and a rash promise:[11]

> O Phoebus, hadst thou never given consent
> That Phaethon should check thy fiery steeds,
> Thy burning car never had scorched the earth![12]

Jupiter struck him with a thunderbolt.[13] Says King Richard,

> Down, down I come, like glistering Phaethon,
> Wanting the manage of unruly jades.[14]

[1] Bk. ii. 64 f. [2] 47. [3] *Ant. & Cleop.* IV. viii. 28 f.
[4] *M. Ado*, V. iii. 26; Bk. ii. 108. [5] Bk. ii. 109.
[6] *Ant. & Cleop.* IV. viii. 28 f. Cf. *Cymb.* V. v. 190 ff.
[7] *Cor.* I. iv. 55.
[8] Bk. iv. 214. [9] *Cymb.* II. iii. 24.
[10] *Two Gent.* III. i. 153–5. The Duke, angry with Valentine for daring to aspire to the hand of his daughter, Silvia, calls him 'Phaethon', but denies him his god-parentage '*thou* art Merops' son', as Phaethon was believed to be before Phoebus acknowledged him. Bk. i. 763, ii. 184.
[11] Bk. ii. 31–328. [12] *3 Hen. VI*, II. vi. 11–13.
[13] Bk. ii. 304–13.
[14] *Rich. II*, III. iii. 178 f. A fall indeed—

> At Phaëthon, rutilos flamma populante capillos,
> volvitur in praeceps longoque per aëra tractu
> fertur (Bk. ii. 319–21)—

'But Phaethon, flame devouring his ruddy locks, is borne headlong, revolving in a long trail through the air'.

And Clifford cries,

> Now Phaethon hath tumbled from his car
> And made an evening at the noontide prick.[1]

Such an abbreviated day is the longing of Juliet:

> Gallop apace, you fiery-footed steeds,
> Towards Phoebus' lodging: such a waggoner
> As Phaethon would whip you to the West,
> And bring in cloudy night immediately.[2]

She is hot and impetuous like the Sun-god's son, and will meet with the same fate.

Apollo saw far and wide—knew 'what was, what had been, and what would be' (*per me quod eritque fuitque estque patet*[3])—'Apollo knows!' is the ejaculation of sage Nestor,[4] and to Apollo's temple at Delphi Leontes sends for an oracle.[5] He shed his healing light on sickness, and was the god of medicine (*inventum medicina meum est*[6])—wherefore Cerimon, who 'studied' and 'practised physic', and was 'familiar' with the 'blest infusions that dwell in vegetives, in metals, stones',[7] seeks his divine aid;[8] and Ulysses talks of Sol's 'medicinable eye', correcting 'the ill aspects of planets evil'.[9] With 'sinews' he strung the lyre and the archer's bow,

> *Qui citharam nervis et nervis temperat arcum.*[10]

'Fiddler Apollo' is the 'scurvy' expression of Thersites.[11] Pan challenged the Sun-god on his pipe with ignominious con-

[1] *3 Hen. VI*, I. iv. 33 f.
[2] *Rom. & Jul.* III. ii. 1–4.
[3] Bk. i. 517.
[4] *Tro. & Cres.* I. iii. 328.
[5] *Wint. T.* II. i. 182–5.
[6] Bk. i. 521.
[7] *Per.* III. ii. 31–6.
[8] 63–7.
[9] *Tro. & Cres.* I. iii. 91 f.
[10] Bk. x. 108. Cf. i. 518: *per me concordant carmina nervis*. 'Sinew' (*nervus*) in Shakespeare is sometimes nerve, as in *Ven. & Ad.* 903, and *K. Lear*, III. vi. 105.
[11] *Tro. & Cres.* III. iii. 302–6.

sequences.[1] Midas, who preferred 'the satyr to Hyperion' (like Hamlet's mother[2]), though Apollo's very 'presence' was that of the Artist (*artificis status ipse fuit*[3]), gained his ass's ears.[4]

Mercury, Apollo's messenger, was a musician like his master, with something of his 'presence'. 'Setting feathers to his heels',[5] and taking the '*caduceus*'[6] in his hand (*virgam somniferam*[7]), he glides from Heaven to earth, a glorious young deity on a mountain-top at sunrise. So Shakespeare describes him, rendering *status*, 'station':

> A station like the herald Mercury
> New lighted on a heaven-kissing hill.[8]

In the guise of a shepherd, 'piping on oaten straws'[9] (*structis cantat avenis*[10]), he puts Argus to sleep, passing his wand over his hundred eyes, such is his 'craft',[11] and cuts off his head:

> *quodque in tot lumina lumen habebas*
> *Exstinctum est, centumque oculos nox occupat una.*[12]

'Purblind Argus', says Shakespeare, 'all eyes and no light'.[13] But his 'words' were 'harsh after the songs of Apollo'.[14] Autolycus, the singing, thieving rogue in *The Winter's Tale*, was 'littered under Mercury':[15]

> *Alipedis de stirpe dei versuta propago*
> *nascitur Autolycus furtum ingeniosus ad omne,*
> *candida de nigris et de candentibus atra*
> *qui facere adsuerat.*[16]

[1] Bk. xi. 146–73.
[2] *Haml.* I. ii. 139 f.: 'So excellent a king, that was to this Hyperion to a satyr'. Cf. III. iv. 55 f.
[3] Bk. xi. 169.
[4] *Ib.* 173–93.
[5] *K. John*, IV. ii. 174 f.
[6] *Tro. & Cres.* II. iii. 14.
[7] Bk. i. 671 f.
[8] *Haml.* III. iv. 58 f.
[9] *Love's L. L.* V. ii. 892. Cf. *Mid. N. D.* II. i. 67.
[10] Bk. i. 677.
[11] *Tro. & Cres.* II. iii. 13 f. Cf. *Tw. N.* I. v. 105.
[12] Bk. i. 720 f.
[13] *Tro. & Cres.* I. ii. 31. Cf. *Love's L. L.* III. i. 201, *Mer. of V.* V. i. 231.
[14] *Love's L. L.* V. ii. 940 f.
[15] IV. iii. 24 ff.
[16] Bk. xi. 312–15: 'Of the stock of the wing-footed god is born a wily

Here again were the Goddesses, Juno, Minerva, Ceres, Venus. Juno was wife (and sister, so mixed were these mythological relationships) to Jupiter, 'highest Queen of State'[1] (*regina deorum*[2]). As faithful wife and mother (Vulcan and Hebe were her children), she was the goddess of marriage (*pronuba Juno*[3]) and patron of wives and husbands.[4] Whence the song in *As You Like It*,

> Wedding is great Juno's crown;[5]

and her benediction in *The Tempest*,

> Honour, riches, marriage-blessing,
> *Long continuance* and increasing,
> *Hourly joys* be still upon you!
> Juno sings her blessings on you.[6]

Hymen was her attendant and deputy at weddings, as at that of Rosalind and Orlando.[7] As 'Lucina', or 'bringer to the light', Juno was the goddess of childbirth (*diva potens uteri*[8]) 'gentle to those who cry by night'[9] (*dat gemitus, constitit mitis Lucina*[10])—'divinest patroness and midwife gentle' to whom Pericles prays, 'make swift the pangs of my queen's travails'[11] (*dolores*[12]). Volumnia, mother of Coriolanus, the Roman matron, is a worshipper of Juno:

'My boy Marcius approaches; for the love of Juno, let us go';[13]

and Cleopatra, as she puts off the harlot for the wife, has Juno

offspring, Autolycus, clever at every theft, who was wont to make black white and white black.'

[1] *Temp.* IV. i. 101. [2] Bk. ii. 512. [3] vi. 428, ix. 762.

[4] xi. 573–82. Cf. *Cor.* v. iii. 46–8:

> Now, by the jealous Queen of Heaven, that kiss
> I carried from thee, dear, and my true lip
> Hath virgin'd it e'er since.

[5] v. iv. 147–50. [6] IV. i. 106–9.

[7] Bk. ix. 762, 796; *As You L. I.* v. iv. 149.

[8] Bk. ix. 315. [9] *Per.* III. i. 10.

[10] Bk. x. 509 f. [11] *Pericles*, III. i. 11, 13 f.

[12] Bk. x. 506. [13] *Cor.* II. i. 110 f.

in her thoughts—'O Juno! . . . Had I great Juno's power'.[1] Juno had spirit, wrath at her husband's infidelities, spite ('despiteful Juno')[2] against her rivals (*exarsit nec tempora distulit irae*[3]). Volumnia excuses her anger by Juno's example:

> Leave this faint puling and lament as I do,
> In anger Juno-like.[4]

Her stately gait was known and her glance dreaded. On her entrance to the Under World to summon the Furies against Athamas, the threshold groaned beneath her sacred form (*sacroque a corpore pressum ingemuit limen*[5]), the Sisters rose to do her honour, Ixion and the rest felt her frown (*acie torva*[6]). 'Great Juno comes, I know her by her gait', says Ceres in *The Tempest*;[7] and Pericles speaks of his lost wife as 'in pace another Juno'.[8] Her chariot was drawn by peacocks, whose tails she adorned with the eyes of Argus whom Mercury slew[9] —'the Queen of the Sky', says Iris, to Ceres amid her leas and meads,

> Whose watery arch and messenger am I,
> Bids thee leave these, and with her Sovereign Grace
> To come and sport: her peacocks fly amain.[10]

Iris was goddess of the rainbow,

> *Nuntia Junonis varios induta colores*
> *concipit Iris aquas alimentaque nubibus adfert,*[11]

'the many-coloured messenger of wet',[12] 'blue Iris'[13] with

[1] *Ant. & Cleop.* III. xi. 28, IV. xv. 24. Note V. ii. 290: '*Husband*, I come.'
[2] *All's W.* III. iv. 13. [3] Bk. i. 724.
[4] *Cor.* IV. ii. 52 f. Cf. *Cymb.* III. iv. 168, 'Great Juno angry'.
[5] Bk. iv. 449 f. [6] 464. [7] IV. i. 102.
[8] *Per.* V. i. 112. Virgil has of Venus, *pedes vestis defluxit adimos et vera incessu patuit Dea* (*Aeneid*, i. 404 f.).
[9] Bk. i. 722 f. Cf. *Temp.* IV. i. 74, and
[10] *Temp.* IV. i. 71–4. [11] Bk. i. 270 f.
[12] *All's W.* I. iii. 157 f. [13] *Tro. & Cres.* I. iii. 380.

'saffron wings',[1] who 'diffusest honey drops, refreshing showers'.[2] At Juno's bidding, she made her way to the home and inner chambers of Sleep (*domus et penetralia Somni*[3]), whither Phoebus never came. The river of Lethe—wherein 'Fancy steeps the sense' with dreams,[4] and 'sad remembrance' is 'drowned'[5]—flowed from the cavern, and poppies and narcotic herbs (*herbae quarum de lacte soporem Nox legit*[6]) grew at the entrance—'the fat weed that roots itself in ease on Lethe wharf'.[7]

Minerva (*Pallas*), on the other hand, was a virgin, the goddess of wisdom—'Hark! thou mayst hear Minerva speak'[8]—and of the arts, including the art of war, and was herself a warrior—'straight-pight Minerva'[9]—armed with shield, spear, helmet and *aegis*. In the last, a breast-plate, she wore the Gorgon's head, the sight of which turned men to stone. To Macduff the sight of Duncan and his 'gashed stabs' was almost as horrible:

> Approach the chamber, and destroy your sight
> With a new Gorgon.[10]

She punished Arachne for presumption in not yielding to her the palm in the art of weaving.[11] No flaw could be found in Arachne's work, which depicted the crimes of deities with the realism (*verum taurum, freta vera putares*[12]) of the 'skilful painting' in *Lucrece*[13] ('one would swear he saw them quake and tremble'[14]); but the goddess 'broke the woof'[15] (*rupit pictas vestes*[16]) and changed her into a spider. She herself had some-

[1] *Temp.* IV. i. 78. [2] 79. [3] Bk. xi. 593.
[4] *Tw. N.* IV. i. 65 f. [5] *Rich. III*, IV. iv. 251. [6] Bk. xi. 605 f.
[7] *Haml.* I. v. 33. [8] *Tam. Sh.* I. i. 84. [9] *Cymb.* V. v. 164.
[10] *Mac.* II. iii. 76 f. [11] Bk. vi. 26–145. [12] l. 104.
[13] l. 1367. [14] l. 1393. [15] *Tro. & Cres.* V. ii. 152.
[16] Bk. vi. 131. Unlike Minerva and Arachne, who weave rival patterns in envy and hatred, Helena and Hermia 'like two artificial gods', work in school-day friendship, one pattern on the same sampler, 'sitting on one cushion and warbling of one song, both in one key' (*Mid. N. D.* III. ii. 202–8): 'artificial', *artificialis*, artistic, dexterous workers in the arts.

thing of the 'lean-faced' hag (*Invidia pallor in ore, macies*) whom she visited in her 'loathsome cave' (*nigro squalentia tabo tecta, imis in vallibus abdita*[3]) and despatched to the envious Aglauros to 'envenom'[4] her with consuming poison (*veneno*[5]). Though *dea bellica*,[6] Minerva had the *olea pacalis*[7] as her sacred tree, in the spirit of Alcibiades in *Timon of Athens* who believed that to be prepared for war was the best way to peace:

> I will use the olive with my sword,
> Make war breed peace, make peace stint war, make each
> Prescribe to other as each other's leach.[8]

Her bird was at first the Crow, which chattered and was inquisitive (*garrula motis pennis scitetur ut omnia cornix*)[9]—'the ribald crow', as Troilus remarks;[10] then the Owl, which did not talk by day—'by day, if he arise, mock'd and wonder'd at'[11] —but spoke ominously at night (*dedit omina bubo*[12]), the messenger of coming sorrow (*venturi nuntia luctus*[13]), shrieking things sad and dire to mortals (*tristia*,[14] *dira mortalibus*[15]), dismal, uncanny, dastardly, loathsome (*funereus*,[16] *profanus*,[17] *ignavus*, *foedus*[18]). Whence in Shakespeare, the 'ominous and fearful owl of death',[19] with its 'death-boding cry',[20] and 'song of death',[21] Puck's 'Screech owl', the white or Barn owl, which

> screeching loud
> Puts the wretch that lies in woe
> In remembrance of a shroud,[22]

and haunts the Castle of Macbeth.[23]

1 *2 Hen. VI*, III. ii. 315.
2 Bk. ii. 775.
3 760–2.
4 *Haml.* IV. vii. 103 f.
5 Bk. ii. 777.
6 752.
7 Bk. vi. 101.
8 v. iv. 82–4.
9 Bk. ii. 547 f.
10 *Tro. & Cres.* IV. ii. 9.
11 *3 Hen. VI*, v. iv. 56 f.
12 Bk. xv. 791.
13 v. 549.
14 xv. 791.
15 v. 550.
16 x. 453.
17 vi. 431.
18 v. 549 f.
19 *1 Hen. VI*, IV. ii. 15.
20 *Lucr.* 165.
21 *Rich. III*, IV. iv. 509.
22 *Mid. N. D.* v. i. 383–5.
23 *Mac.* II. ii. 3, 16.

But Shakespeare the happy Stratford youth, not the reader of *Metamorphoses*, loves 'the staring' Brown owl and its 'hoot' at night—

> To-who, Tu-whit, Tu-who, *a merry note*
> While greasy Joan doth keel the pot.[1]

Ceres, the mother of Proserpina, whom she sought through the world after her rape in 'Dis's waggon', and found in Hades, was the goddess of the plough and all agriculture, and as such she appears with Juno, on the condition that Venus was not present, at the betrothal of Miranda and Ferdinand, attended by 'sunburn'd sicklemen of August weary'.[2] She could not forgive the 'plot' of Venus and 'her blind boy', whereby Dis her 'daughter got'.[3]

Venus was the goddess of radiant physical beauty and desire (*Venus aurea*[4]), born of the foam in the Aegean (*in dio profundo spuma*[5]) on the shores of the island of Cythera (*Cÿthĕrea*:[6] Shakespeare's musical name for the goddess in her youthful freshness, as in Botticelli's great picture[7] of the girl blown to land in a sea-shell, with her hair about her shoulders, among the rose-leaves—'sweet Cytherea',[8] 'Cytherea's breath',[9] 'Cytherea, fresh lily',[10] 'Cytherea, all in love forlorn, under an osier growing by a brook'[11]). Her home was at Paphos in sea-girt Cyprus (*Paphos aequore cincta*[12]), whence and whither she drove in her 'light chariot' (*levi curru*[13]), drawn by white swans (*albos cygnos*[14]) or snowy doves (*niveas columbas*[15]). 'I met her deity', says Iris to Ceres, cutting the clouds towards Paphos,

[1] *Love's L. L.* v. ii. 926–30.
[2] *Temp.* IV. i. 134.
[3] 86–91.
[4] Bk. x. 277.
[5] Bk. iv. 537 f.
[6] Bk. x. 717 &c.
[7] In the Uffizi at Florence.
[8] *Passionate Pilgrim*, iv. 1.
[9] *Wint. T.* IV. iv. 122.
[10] *Cymb.* II. ii. 15.
[11] *Pass. Pilg.* vi. 3, 5.
[12] Bk. x. 530.
[13] 717.
[14] 708, 719.
[15] xiii. 674, xiv. 597, xv. 386.

'and her son dove-drawn with her'.[1] Her husband was Vulcan, god of fire and the smith's craft, artificer of the Sun-god's gorgeous chariot.[2] We read in Shakespeare of Vulcan's skill,[3] his 'stithy',[4] and his black face, contrasting with his wife's fairness.[5] She grew morally black. She loved Mars (was his 'hot minion'),[6] the god of war (whose name is taken in vain by that man of words, Parolles).[7] 'His heart inflamed red'[8] by her advances, he was discovered with her by Apollo and betrayed to Vulcan; who, quickly forging a net of the finest bronze, threw it round them and exposed them to the laughter of heaven.[9] 'I have fierce affections', says Mardian, 'and think what Venus did with Mars'.[10] Cupid was their child—'that same wicked bastard', as Rosalind calls him, 'that blind rascally boy, that abuses every one's eyes because his own are out'.[11] *Caeca Cupid est*; but his blindness was in his reckless irresponsibility. Cupid with a 'conscience' would not be Cupid.[12] He was *lascivus puer*,[13] which Shakespeare translates 'wayward boy',[14] 'knavish lad',[15] and 'wanton'[16] in the sense of 'knavish' like the young Friend of the Sonnets. Shaking his wings and darting into the air, he would shoot at Apollo himself (discloser of his mother's and father's adultery) on Parnassus (*eliso*

[1] *Temp.* IV. i. 92–4. So *Ven. & Adon.* 1190–3: 'She yokes her silver doves . . . through the empty skies in her light chariot quickly is convey'd . . . to Paphos.'
[2] Bk. ii. 106.
[3] *Tro. & Cres.* V. ii. 170.
[4] *Haml.* III. ii. 89.
[5] *Tw. N.* V. i. 56; *Tro. & Cres.* I. iii. 168.
[6] *Temp.* IV. i. 98.
[7] *All's W.* II. i. 48, iii. 200, IV. i. 38.
[8] *Tro. & Cres.* V. ii. 164 f.
[9] Bk. IV. 171–89.
[10] *Ant. & Cleop.* I. v. 17 f.
[11] *As You*, IV. i. 216, 218; Bk. iii. 620.
[12] *Merry W.* V. v. 32.
[13] Bk. i. 456.
[14] *Love's L. L.* III. i. 181.
[15] *Mid. N. D.* III. ii. 440. Cf. II. i. 33, 'shrewd and knavish sprite'.
[16] *Love's L. L.* IV. iii. 58. Cf. Sonnets xl. 13 ('lascivious grace' is skittish charm), xcv. 6 ('lascivious comments' are 'shrewd and knavish' criticism).

percussis aere pennis, umbrosa Parnassi arce, laesit Apollineas medullas[1]). He carried in his quiver two sorts of arrows, one kindling love, the other quenching it. The latter was blunt, with a head of lead; the former, sharp with a point of gold (*auratum cuspide acuta*[2]), pierced to the bone and marrow. So Hermia swears by 'Cupid's best arrow with the golden head';[3] and the Duke cries, of Olivia:

> How will she love when the rich golden shaft
> Hath kill'd the flock of all affections else
> That live in her, when liver, brain and heart,
> These sovereign thrones, are all supplied and filled,
> How sweet perfections, with one self King—[4]

namely Love. And Venus laments that 'Death's ebon dart', not 'Love's golden arrow', struck Adonis.[5]

Her passion for this 'most beautiful' (*formosissimus*[6]) youth (*iuvenis*[7]) is the subject of one of Ovid's stories and of Shakespeare's early poem. The poem is very much longer than the tale, notwithstanding a digression on Atalanta's race with Hippomanes, and is largely indebted to another story in the *Metamorphoses*, of the naiad Salmacis and Hermaphroditus.[8] Indeed, the voluptuousness which Shakespeare gives to his goddess, in dramatic contrast with the healthy manliness of the youth, who is bored to death by her sensual blandishments, is borrowed far more from the water-nymph than from the mother of Cupid. Venus, says Ovid, preferred Adonis to heaven, held him fast, was his companion, and *abandoning her ease, followed him in the chase, through woods and rocky places beset with thorns*, her dress girt-up after the manner of Diana;[9] and when she has him to herself on the grass, she entertains

[1] Bk. i. 466 f., 473. [2] 470.
[3] *Mid. N. D.* I. i. 169 f. [4] *Tw. N.* I. i. 34–8.
[5] *Ven. & Ad.* 947 f. [6] Bk. x. 522. [7] 545.
[8] See Pooler, *Venus & Adonis* (Arden Edition), pp. xxx–xxxii.
[9] Bk. x. 532–6.

him with the tale, intermingled with kisses, of the beautiful girl-athlete, whose grace and strength, without her cruelty, Orlando saw in Rosalind,[1] and whom, as Venus knew, Adonis would infinitely prefer to herself.[2] Shakespeare's Venus has no such energy or wit, but partakes rather of the enveloping and imprisoning Salmacis, who holds the boy struggling in her embrace (*pugnantem tenet*), seizes reluctant kisses (*luctantia oscula carpit*), fondles him with her fingers (*subjectat manus*), handles his unwilling breasts (*invita pectora tangit*).[3] 'Fight as you may', she says, 'thou wicked, thou shalt not escape';[4] their bodies are joined and their faces become one (*corpora iunguntur faciesque inducitur illis una*).[5] Shakespeare has,

> She kissed his brow, his cheek, his chin,
> And where she ends she doth anew begin,
> Forced to content but never to obey,
> Pouting he lies and breatheth in her face.[6]
>
> Sometimes her arms infold him like a band:
> She would, he will not in her arms be bound;
> And when from thence he struggles to be gone,
> She locks her lily-fingers one in one.[7]
>
> 'For shame', he cries, 'let go, and let me go'.[8]
>
> 'Nay, do not struggle for thou shalt not rise'.[9]
>
> Incorporate then they seem, face grows to face.[10]

But there is hardly a feature in either story which he does not put to use. Ovid has,

> *Trux aper insequitur totosque sub inguine dentes*
> *abdidit*[11];

[1] *As You*, III. ii. 153–6:

> Helen's cheek, but not her heart,
> Cleopatra's majesty,
> Atalanta's better part,
> Sad Lucretia's modesty.

[2] Bk. x. 554–9, 560–680. [3] iv. 358–79. [4] 370 f.
[5] 374. [6] *Ven. & Ad.* 59–62. [7] 225–8.
[8] 379. [9] 710. [10] 540. [11] Bk. x. 715 f.

Shakespeare,

> the wide wound that the boar had trenched
> In his soft flank[1];

Ovid,

> *cum flos de sanguine concolor ortus*[2];

Shakespeare,

> And in his blood a purple flower sprung up.[3]

Diana was cold as Venus passionate—as 'chaste in her orb' as the other was 'intemperate'.[4] She was the second person of the Dea Triformis ('thrice-crowned Queen')—who was Luna, Phoebe or Cynthia in the heavens,[5] Diana or Dictynna[6] on earth, and Hecate in the Underworld. She was energetic as Venus was lazy, at home in the woods with her bow and arrows as Venus was out of her element, escorted by her virgin-band of devotees—'modest Dian circled with her nymphs'[7]—who bathe with her in the pools after exercise.[8] 'Fresh' is her 'visage',[9] says Shakespeare, her 'lip smooth and rubious'.[10] She was the patroness of the vestal—and of the nun,

> in shady cloister mew'd
> To live a barren sister all your life,
> Chanting faint hymns to the cold, fruitless Moon—[11]

austere, morbid in her chastity, visiting death on young Actaeon because he happened to catch sight of her in her bath. She changed him into a stag, to be caught and devoured by his own hounds[12]—'suffered', as Helena said (who 'flew' from her altar

[1] *Ven. & Ad.* 1052 f.
[2] Bk. x. 735.
[3] *Ven. & Ad.* 1167 f.
[4] *M. Ado*, IV. i. 58–60.
[5] *As You*, III. ii. 2–4.
[6] Bk. ii. 441; *Love's L. L.* IV. ii. 38 f.
[7] *3 Hen. VI*, IV. viii. 21.
[8] Bk. iii. 155–64.
[9] *Oth.* III. iii. 386 f.
[10] *Tw. N.* I. iv. 31 f.
[11] *Mid. N. D.* I. i. 71–3.
[12] Bk. iii. 165–252.

to that of imperial Love[1]), 'her poor knight to be surprised, without rescue in the first assault or ransom afterward'.[2] Rosalind disliked her supersensitiveness: 'I will weep for nothing, like Diana in the fountain.'[3] Falstaff, as we might expect, made fun of her, humorously likening himself and his fellow-highwaymen to 'Diana's foresters, minions of the Moon'.[4]

Falstaff knows the *Metamorphoses*, as he knows the Bible, and vulgarizes what he touches. The loves of the gods please him well. These strange *amours*, which in Ovid have still their mythological origin and significance clinging to them, telling of the relations and transmutations of natural forces, were treated as fairy-lore by the Old Masters:[5] and as such they are handled by Shakespeare, who presents the quarrels and infidelities of Oberon and Titania as those of spirit-beings below the human:

Titania. I know
When thou hast stolen away from Fairy-land,
And in the shape of Corin sat all day
Playing on pipes of corn and versing love
To amorous Phillida. Why art thou here,
Come from the farthest steppe of India?
But that, forsooth, the bouncing Amazon,
Your buskin'd mistress and your warrior love
To Theseus must be wedded.

Oberon. How canst thou thus for shame, Titania,
Glance at my credit with Hippolyta,
Knowing I know thy love to Theseus?
Didst thou not lead him through the glimmering night
From Perigenia, whom he ravished,
And make him with fair Aegle break his faith,
With Ariadne and Antiopa?

Titania. These are the forgeries of jealousy.[6]

[1] *All's W.* II. iii. 80 f. [2] I. iii. 119–21.
[3] *As You*, IV. i. 154.
[4] *1 Hen. IV*, I. ii. 29. [5] Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy* I. ii. 1. 2.
[6] *Mid. N. D.* II. i. 64–72, 74–80.

Here is the world of *Metamorphoses* etherealized. Theseus, son of Neptune and King of Athens, slew the Minotaur and by aid of Ariadne found his way out of the Labyrinth, fled with her from Crete to Dia, where he deserted her[1] (*comitem suam crudelis in illo litore destituit, desertam et multa querentem*[2]—her grief was played by Julia in a Pentecost pageant, 'Ariadne passioning for Theseus' perjury and unjust flight'[3]); he took part in the hunt of the Calydonian Boar[4] ('the Boar of Thessaly'[5]) and in the battle of the Lapithae with the Centaurs,[6] and married the queen of the Amazons, Hippolyta.[7] Aegle and Phillida are from Plutarch, but Titania is a name from the *Metamorphoses*.[8]

From this non-moral realm of fairies Falstaff, after his fashion, brings us down with a jest to earth and bestiality:

'Now, the hot-blooded gods assist me! Remember, Jove, thou wast a bull for thy Europa; love set on thy horns. . . . You were also, Jupiter, a swan for the love of Leda . . . a fault done first in the form of a beast, O Jove, a beastly fault! and then another fault in the semblance of a fowl—think on't, Jove, a foul fault! When gods have hot backs, what shall poor men do? . . . Send me a cool rut-time, Jove, or who can blame me to piss my tallow?'[9]

[1] *Bk.* viii. 152–82. [2] 175 f. [3] *Two Gent.* IV. iv. 172 f.
[4] Bk. viii. 265–424. Particulars of the hunt appear in *Ven. & Ad.* e.g. the boar:

> Sanguine et igne micant oculi, riget ardua cervix
> Et setae similes rigidis hastilibus horrent (284 f.)
>
> On his bow-back he hath a battle set
> Of bristly pikes, that ever threat his foes;
> His eyes like glow-worms shine (*Ven. & Ad.* 619–21).

Cf. *Mid. N. D.* IV. i. 111–31 (read 'boar' l. 118).
[5] *Ant. & Cleop.* IV. xiii. 2 f.
[6] Bk. xii. 210–535. Cf. *Mid. N. D.* v. i. 44–7.
[7] Bk. xv. 552. *Mid. N. D.* I. i. 1–19, IV. i. 111–31.
[8] Bk. i. 395, iii. 173, vi. 346, xiv. 382, 438.
[9] *Merry W.* v. v. 2–17. How different is Florizel's speech to Perdita of the 'gods humbling themselves to love' (*Wint. T.* IV. iv. 26–35).

Much more might be said. From the *Metamorphoses* Shakespeare obtained the stories of Pyramus and Thisbe[1] (parodied in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*),[2] Medea and her restoration to youth of old Aeson[3] (which furnished material for scenes in *The Merchant of Venice*,[4] *Macbeth*[5] and *The Tempest*[6]); Tereus, Procne and Philomel[7] (which Imogen read into the night, turning the leaf down 'where Philomel gave up',[8] *virginem et unam vi superat*;[9] which also was the source of incidents in *Lucrece*[10] and *Titus Andronicus*[11]); Philemon and Baucis[12] ('Jove in a thatched house', *canna tecta palustri*,[13] sneered at by Jaques[14]); Niobe changed into a weeping stone[15] (*lacrimas marmora manant*[16], 'Niobe all tears'[17]); the Golden Fleece and Jason[18] (Portia's 'sunny locks' are 'like a golden fleece', her 'seat of Belmont' is 'Colchos strond' and 'many Jasons come in quest of her'[19]); Narcissus and Echo,[20] Io[21] (loved by Jupiter —'Io, as she was a maid, and how she was beguiled'[22]), Daphne[23] (loved by Apollo, 'roaming through a thorny wood, scratching

[1] Bk. iv. 55–166.
[2] v. i. 56–357. Cf. *Mer. of V.* v. i. 7–10.
[3] Bk. vii. 159–293. See *Min. & Acc.* III. xviii, xxii–xxvi.
[4] v. i. [5] IV. i. Cf. I. iii. and III. v. [6] v. i. 33–50.
[7] Bk. vi. 438–674. *Tit. Andron.* v. ii. 195 f. Hence in Shakespeare, wrongly, the *female* nightingale sings: *Sonnet* cii; *Mid. N. D.* II. ii. 13 f.; *Lucr.* st. 155, 162; *Tam. Sh.* II. i. 172; *Rom. & Jul.* III. v. 4.
[8] *Cymb.* II. ii. 44–6. [9] Bk. vi. 524 f.
[10] 737 ('a wearied lamb, lies panting,' *tremit velut agna pavens*, 527), 739, 759 ('her nails her flesh doth tear', 'beating on her breast', *caesis plangore lacertis intendens palmas*, 532 f.).
[11] II. iv. 26 f., 38–51, IV. i. 41–78.
[12] Bk. viii. 624–724. [13] 630.
[14] *As You*, III. iii. 10 f. Cf. *M. Ado*, II. i. 100 f.
[15] Bk. vi. 165–312. [16] 312.
[17] *Haml.* I. ii. 149. Cf. *Tro. & Cres.* v. x. 18 f.
[18] Bk. vii. 1–158. [19] *Mer. of V.* I. i. 169–72. Cf. III. ii. 244 f.
[20] Bk. iii. 370–510. See *Ven. & Ad.* 157–62, *Lucr.* 265 f. By a freak of memory Shakespeare says that Narcissus was drowned in the pool which reflected his beauty. He was turned, of course, into the flower which bears his name.
[21] Bk. i. 588–600 [22] *Tam. Sh.* In. ii. 56.
[23] Bk. i. 452–567.

her legs that one shall swear she bleeds, and at that sight shall sad Apollo weep',[1] pursuing her in the guise of a shepherd,

> *Me miserum! ne prona cadas indignave laedi*
> *crura notent sentes et sim tibi causa doloris!*
> *aspera, qua properas, loca sunt*[2]);

Cephalus ('the Morning's love') and Procris,[3] Icarus[4] (and his 'desperate sire of Crete',[5] and 'Minos that denied their course'[6]), Perseus and his winged horse, Pegasus[7] ('bounding between the two moist elements',[8] *quae freta et quae iactatis tetigisset sidera pennis*[9]), Pygmalion and his image[10] (significantly referred to by Lucio in *Measure for Measure*[11]), the source of the scene of Hermione's restoration in *The Winter's Tale*;[12] the Cumaean Sibyl, the long-lived (*vivax*) priestess of Apollo;[13] the scurrilous Thersites;[14] Ajax and Ulysses, and other heroes at Troy;[15] Telephus, wounded and healed by the spear of Achilles;[16] and Hercules, 'the great Alcides'—his 'club' (*clava*[17]), 'lion's robe' (*spolium leonis, Nemeaeum vellus*[18]), 'brawns' (*lacerti*[19]), and

[1] *Tam. Sh.* In. ii. 58–61.
[2] 508–10. See also ii. 680–2 and cf. *Wint. T.* IV. iii. 29 f.
[3] Bk. vii. 694–865. Cf. *Mid. N.D.* III. ii. 389, v. i. 201 f.
[4] Bk. viii. 183–259.
[5] *1 Hen. VI*, IV. vi. 54 f.
[6] *3 Hen. VI*, v. vi. 22.
[7] Bk. iv. 770–90. Cf. *Hen. V*, III. vii. 21 f.
[8] *Tro. & Cres.* I. iii. 41 f.
[9] Bk. iv. 788 f.
[10] Bk. x. 243–97.
[11] III. ii. 47–9. Pygmalion carved a maiden in ivory in disgust at the harlot lives of women about him. Lucio, as his name indicates, was a loose and licentious customer of prostitutes.
[12] v. iii. (*dedit oscula, visa tepere est* 281, 'O she's warm; she embraces him' 109, 111).
[13] Bk. xiv. 101–53. Cf. *Mer. of V.* I. ii. 116.
[14] Bk. xiii. 232 f. *ausus erat reges incessere dictis Thersites etiam, per me haud impune protervis.* So in *Tro. & Cres.* I. ii. &c.
[15] Not a little of the story of Troy is told in the *Metamorphoses*.
[16] Bk. xii. 112, xiii. 171 (*Telephon hasta pugnantem domui, victum orantemque refeci*; *2 Hen. VI*, v. i. 100 f., 'like to Achilles' spear, to kill and cure').
[17] *Love's L. L.* I. ii. 182; Bk. ix. 114, 236.
[18] *K. John*, II. i. 141–4; Bk. ix. 113, 235.
[19] *Cymb.* IV. ii. 311; Bk. ix. 197 f.

'Twelve Labours' (*bis six labores*[1]); his 'crushing of the snake' in his cradle,[2] slaying of the Hydra,[3] killing of the Nemean lion ('hardy', cries Hamlet, 'as the Nemean lion's nerve'[4]), dragging of Cerberus from the Underworld,[5] securing of the apples guarded by a sleepless dragon in the garden of the Hesperides ('is not Love a Hercules still climbing trees in the Hesperides?'[6]), rescue of Hesione from the sea-monster[7] (Portia says of Bassanio, going to make his choice of the caskets,

> Now he goes
> With no less presence but with much more love
> Than young Alcides, when he did redeem
> The virgin-tribute paid by howling Troy
> To the sea-monster[8]);

his love of Deianira and slaying of the centaur, Nessus, for his attempt to violate her (*ferox violentus Nessus*[9]; 'for rapes and ravishments', says Parolles of Captain Dumain, 'he parallels Nessus'[10]), and his 'subduing of his worthiest self', poisoned by the shirt dipped in the blood of Nessus (*inbutam Nesseo sanguine vestem*[11]), after he had hurled the bringer of the garment, his 'page' Lichas, with greater force than of a catapult, into the sky[12] (whence Antony's outburst,

> The shirt of Nessus is upon me; teach me,
> Alcides, thou mine ancestor, thy rage:
> Let me lodge Lichas on the horns o' the moon;
> And with those hands that grasped the heaviest club
> Subdue my worthiest self[13]).

[1] Bk. xv. 39; *Tam. Sh.* I. ii. 257 f.
[2] Bk. ix. 67; *Love's L. L.* v. i. 136–46.
[3] Bk. ix. 192 f.; *Oth.* II. iii. 307 f.
[4] Bk. ix. 197; *Haml.* I. iv. 83.
[5] Bk. vii. 410–15; *Love's L. L.* v. ii. 592.
[6] Bk. ix. 190; *Love's L. L.* IV. iii. 341; *Per.* I. i. 27.
[7] Bk. xi. 211–15.
[8] *Mer. of V.* III. ii. 53–7.
[9] Bk. ix. 101 f., 120 f.
[10] *All's W.* IV. iii. 281.
[11] Bk. ix. 153.
[12] 211–29.
[13] *Ant. & Cleop.* IV. xii. 43–7.

Out of this bountiful mine Shakespeare dug further treasures —Japetus (identified by him with Japhet?),[1] the father of Atlas who bore the heaven on his shoulders,[2] and Prometheus, who made man of clay,[3] (and animated him, though Ovid does not mention this, with fire stolen from heaven[4]); the Giants, who scaled heaven by piling mountains one upon another, and were hurled down by Jove's thunderbolts, Olympus being shattered and Pelion thrown from the top of Ossa[5] ('I had rather be a giantess', says Mistress Page, 'and lie under Mount Pelion' than have 'a mountain of mummy' upon her[6]); Aesculapius, the son of Apollo[7] (to whom Cerimon appeals[8]), and Pythagoras[9] (who held opinion 'that souls of animals infuse themselves into the 'trunks of men'[10]); the Aethiopian with his black skin,[11] the source of a frequent pleasantry[12]); Nilus, which overflows its banks and from its fresh slime quickened by the Sun

[1] Bk. i. 82; cf. *Genesis*, x. 2, 5, and *2 Hen. IV*, II. ii. 128.
[2] Bk. ii. 296 f. Cf. *3 Hen. VI*, v. i. 36.
[3] Bk. i. 82–8.
[4] Virgil barely refers to the story (Eclogue vi. 42 *Caucaseasque refert volucres furtumque Promethei*), which is told in Eliot-Cooper: 'Prometheus, The son of Japetus, first invented making of images: wherefore the Paynims supposed that he made men, and feigned that he went up into heaven, and there did steal fire to make his image have life; wherewith Jupiter being wroth caused him to be bounden on the hills called Caucasus, and an Eagle standing by him eating his heart.' Cf. *Tit. Andr.* II. i. 17 ('Prometheus tied to Caucasus'), *Love's L. L.* IV. iii. 304, 351 ('Promethean fire') and the tragic passage in *Othello*:

> Once put out thy light,
> Thou cunningest pattern of excelling nature,
> I know not where is that Promethean heat
> That can thy light relume (v. ii. 10–13).

[5] Bk. i. 152–5 (*subiecto Pelio Ossam* or *subiectae Pelion Ossae*)
[6] *Merry W.* II. i. 81 f., III. v. 19. Cf. *Haml.* v. i. 274–7 and 303–6. Laertes refers to the story in Ovid and Hamlet recognizes the allusion.
[7] Bk. xv. 626–744. [8] *Per.* III. ii. 111. [9] Bk. xv. 60–478.
[10] *Mer. of V.* IV. i. 131–3. Cf. *Tw. N.* IV. ii. 54–65 and *As You*, III. ii. 186–8. [11] Bk. ii. 235–8.
[12] *Love's L. L.* IV. iii. 117 f., 268; *Mid. N. D.* III. ii. 257; *Two Gent.* II. vi. 26; *Rom. & Jul.* I. v. 48; *As You*, IV. iii. 35; *M. Ado*, v. iv. 38; *Per.* II. ii. 20.

(*recens exarsit sidere limus*) is born the poisonous serpent (*serpens, veneno*), Python[1] (Cleopatra, 'my serpent of old Nile', a 'pretty worm' and 'strange serpent', 'bred of the mud', who poisons and destroys Antony[2]); Index ('Touchstone'),[3] Proteus *ambiguus* (the changeable lover in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*[4]) and Aegeon (his brother sea-god, who becomes the storm-tossed merchant in *The Comedy of Errors*[5]); the Storm and Wreck at Sea under Eurus (which contributed to the opening scenes of *The Tempest*,[6] and a fine passage in *The Winter's Tale*[7]); Aeolus god of the winds and the caves (*antris*) in which he holds them[8] ('the gentle gusts and he that loosed them forth their brazen caves, Aeolus'[9]); the Four Winds[10] (Aquilo or

[1] Bk. i. 422–44.
[2] *Ant. & Cleop.* I. iii. 68 f. ('By the Fire that quickens Nilus' slime'), I. v. 25, II. vii. 27–54 ('You have strange serpents there. Your serpent of Egypt is bred now of your mud by the operation of your Sun: so is your crocodile. 'Tis a strange serpent'), v. ii. 59 f. ('On Nilus' mud lay me'), 243 ff. ('the pretty Worm of Nilus'; cf. *Cymb.* III. iv. 37: 'outvenoms all the worms of Nile').
[3] Bk. ii. 706 and the well-named critical jester in *As You.* Eliot-Cooper has 'Index, Ovid, A touch stone'.
[4] Bk. ii. 9. [5] *Ib.* 10.
[6] xi. 474–572. 'Noise of thunder and lightning', *micantia lumen fulmina* 522 f.; 'Ship-Master', *ratis rector* 493; 'Take in the top-sail. . . . Down with the top-mast', *ardua demittite cornua* 482 f.; 'these roarers', *fragor aequoris* 485; 'A cry within. A plague upon this howling', *sonant clamore viri* 495; 'To prayers! mercy on us! we split! farewell my wife and children! farewell brother!' *vocat ille, hic adorat, labant cunei, illi fratres, huic cum pignoribus domus* 514, 539–43; 'a brave vessel, dashed all to pieces, swallowed and the souls within her, they perished', *frangitur arbor, frangitur et regimen, unda praecipitata cadit et mergit in ima ratem, cum qua pars magna virorum* 551–7, Shakespeare's ship-wreck, however, owes something to Acts xxvii. Ceyx was drowned, but Ferdinand swam to shore and 'not a hair perished' ('there shall not an hair fall from the head of any of you', v. 34).
[7] P. iii. 3.
[8] Bk. i. 262.
[9] *2 Hen. IV*, III. ii. 88–92; and *Ven. & Ad.* 1046 f. 'As when the wind, imprison'd in the ground, struggling for passage, earth's foundation shakes.'
[10] Bk. i. 61–6, xiii. 725–7.

horrifer Boreas;[1] Auster *aquaticus, imbrifer, lenis, placidus, letiferis calidus aestibus, insanis,* or Notus *madidis alis*;[2] Eurus *trux*,[3] and Zephyrus *placidus, tepentibus auris, mollis*[4]); Thetis, mother of Achilles ('great Thetis son'[5]), a sea-nymph identified with the Sea ('Thetis, being proud, swallow'd some part of the earth';[6] 'gentle' until 'enraged' by Boreas[7]); Aurora, the goddess of the Morning:

> *Ecce vigil rutilo patefecit ab ortu*
> *Purpureas Aurora fores et plena rosarum*
> *Atria: diffugiunt stellae, quarum agmina cogit*
> *Lucifer et caeli statione novissimus exit*—[8]

('Yonder shines Aurora's harbinger', says Puck; and Oberon in answer speaks of 'the Eastern gate, all fiery red, opening')[9] and Vesper[10] and Hesperus,[11] the Evening and the Evening Star

[1] Bk. i. 65; *Tro. & Cres.* IV. v. 9 ('the colic of puff'd Aquilon'), I. iii. 38 f. ('the ruffian Boreas enrage the gentle Thetis').

[2] Bk. ii. 853, xiii. 725, xi. 192, viii. 3, vii. 532, xii. 510, i. 264: *contraria tellus nubibus adsiduis pluvioque madescit ab Austro* i. 65; 'Like foggy South, puffing with wind and rain', *As You*, III. v. 50; 'the South borne with black vapour', *2 Hen. IV*, II. iv. 392; 'the dew-dropping South', *Rom. & Jul.* I. iv. 103; 'the spongy South', *Cymb.* IV. ii. 349; 'the Southern wind foretells a tempest and a blustering day', *1 Hen. IV*, V. i. 3, 6; 'Southward, to lose itself in a fog, melted with rotten dews', *Cor.* II. iii. 32–5; 'the rotten diseases of the South', *Tro. & Cres.* V. i. 21, 'all the contagion of the South', *Cor.* I. iv. 30. Fog came from the South both in Stratford and London, from the Avon and the Thames, but the Poet's imagination had been stirred on the subject by his reading of the *Metamorphoses*. Yet Auster might be 'gentle' as well as Zephyrus, and the suggested reading 'sweet South' in *Tw. N.* I. i. 5 may be correct. See note 4.

[3] Bk. xv. 603. Eurus is not named by Shakespeare, but he speaks of 'high Taurus snow, fanned with the Eastern wind' (*Mid. N. D.* III. ii. 141 f.).

[4] Bk. i. 106 f., xiii. 726. The former passage, *placidique tepentibus auris mulcebant zephyri flores*, was surely in Shakespeare's head when he wrote, 'gentle as zephyrs blowing below the violet, not wagging his sweet head' (*Cymb.* IV. ii. 171–3).

[5] *Tro. & Cres.* III. iii. 94.

[6] *Per.* IV. v. 39.

[7] *Tro. & Cres.* I. iii. 38 f.

[8] Bk. ii. 112–15.

[9] *Mid. N. D.* III. ii. 380, 391 f.

[10] Bk. i. 63.

[11] v. 441.

('black Vesper', says Antony;[1] 'moist Hesperus', says Helena);[2] the Four Seasons:

> *Verque novum stabat cinctum florente corona,*
> *Stabat nuda Aestas et spicea serta gerebat,*
> *Stabat et Autumnus calcatis sordidus uvis*
> *Et glacialis Hiems canos hirsuta capillos.*[3]

(Ver sings the song of the Cuckoo in *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. ii. 904 ff., 'When daisies pied and violets blue'; Hiems, the song of the Owl in the same scene, 'When icicles hang by the wall'; and 'Hiems' thin and icy crown', in Titania's lament at the confusion of the seasons,[4] is Ovid's image); the 'Thrice-three Muses', with their Mount Parnassus [5] (curiously not mentioned by Shakespeare) and sacred Helicon (referred to once, by Pistol!);[6] 'dainty Bacchus' (*madidus murra crinis mollesque coronae* &c.)[7] 'monarch of the vine', crowned with clusters (*racemifer*: 'with thy grapes our hairs be crowned'[8]) and Bellona, goddess of War, and sister of Mars,[9] 'the fire-eyed maid of smoky war',[10] whose 'bridegroom' was Macbeth;[11] Rumour (*Fama loquax, quae veris addere falsa gaudet*;[12] so in the Induction to 2 *Henry IV* 'loud Rumour, full of tongues',[13] 'stuffing the ears of men with false reports', brings 'smooth comforts false, worse than true wrongs'); Famine (*Fames, ieiuna, dura cutis, per quam spectari viscera possent, ventris erat pro ventre*

[1] *Ant. & Cleop.* IV. xiv. 8.
[2] *All's W.* II. i. 167.
[3] Bk. ii. 27–30.
[4] *Mid. N. D.* II. i. 109. Cf. Bk. xv. 212 f.: *senilis Hiems aut spoliata suos aut, quos habet, alba capillos. Spoliata* confirms the amended reading 'thin' for 'chin'.
[5] v. 278. *Mid. N. D.* v. i. 52.
[6] Bk. ii. 219, v. 254; *2 Hen. IV*, v. iii. 108.
[7] *Love's L. L.* IV. iii. 339; Bk. iii. 555 f.
[8] Bk. iv. 14, xv. 413; *Ant. & Cleop.* II. vii. 120, 123.
[9] Bk. v. 155.
[10] *1 Hen. IV*, IV. i. 114.
[11] *Macb.* I. ii. 54.
[12] Bk. ix. 137 f., xii. 39–63.
[13] The dramatic representation of Rumour 'painted full of tongues' seems ultimately due to Virgil, *Aeneid*, iv. 183.

locus;[1] 'lean Famine',[2] 'Famine cling thee'[3] 'so forlorn his dimensions to any thick sight were invisible, the very genius of Famine[4]);' and the *Parcae*, the Three Sister Fates, who weave the destinies of men, make decrees which the gods cannot break, and record all that happens on tables of brass and iron, secure against thunder, lightning and ruin, and eternal: *triplices Sorores, stamina fatalia nentes*,[5] *superi rumpere ferrea non possunt decreta Sororum*,[6] *ex aere et solido rerum tabularia ferro, quae neque concussum caeli neque fulminis iram nec metuunt ullas tuta atque aeterna ruinas*[7] ('Sisters Three',[8] who 'cut' 'with shears'[9] the 'thread of life',[10] and 'Parca's fatal web';[11] the 'Destinies' who 'decree'[12] and 'mark'[13]; the 'Fates', who 'stand fast',[14] 'kill',[15] 'cut thread and thrum',[16] whose 'pleasures' Brutus would 'know',[17] and Shakespeare's 'living record' of his Friend, which like the decrees of the Fates, will survive 'brass' and fire, and the waste and decay of Time).[18]

The doctrine ascribed in Book xv to Pythagoras of Time's Revolutions appears almost verbally in Shakespeare:

> *Cuncta fluunt, omnisque vagans formatur imago;*
> *Ipsa quoque assiduo labuntur tempora motu;*
> *Ut unda impellitur unda*
> *Urgueturque eadem veniens urguetque priorem,*
> *Tempora sic fugiunt pariter, pariterque sequuntur*
> *Et nova sunt semper.*[19]

[1] Bk. viii. 791, 803–5.
[2] *1 Hen. VI*, IV. ii. 11.
[3] *Macb.* v. v. 40 (cling = dry up).
[4] *2 Hen. IV*, III. ii. 336.
[5] Bk. viii. 452 f.
[6] xv. 780 f.
[7] xv. 810–12.
[8] *Mid. N. D.* v. i. 33; *Mer. of V.* II. ii. 66.
[9] *Mid. N. D.* v. i. 348.
[10] *Per.* I. ii. 108; *Rich. II*, I. ii. 108.
[11] *Hen. V*, v. i. 21.
[12] *As You*, I. ii. 111.
[13] *3 Hen. VI*, II. ii. 137.
[14] *Temp.* I. i. 33.
[15] *Mid. N. D.* v. i. 200.
[16] *Ib.* 291.
[17] *Jul. Caes.* III. i. 98.
[18] *Sonnets*, lv, lxv.
[19] 178 f., 181–4.

Like as the waves make towards the pebbled shore,
So do our minutes hasten to their end;
Each changing place with that which goes before,
In sequent toil all forwards do contend.[1]

Vidi ego quod fuerat quondam solidissima tellus,
Esse fretum, vidi factas ex aequore terras.[2]

When I have seen the hungry ocean gain
Advantage on the kingdom of the shore
And the firm soil win of the watery main.[3]

Quodque fuit campus, vallem decursus aquarum
Fecit, et eluvie mons est deductus in aequor.[4]

O God! that one might read the Book of Fate,[5]
And see the revolution of the times[6]
Make mountains level, and the continent,
Weary of solid firmness, melt itself
Into the sea! and other times to see
The beachy girdle of the ocean
Too wide for Neptune's hips; how chances mock
And changes fill the cup of alteration
With divers liquors![7]

Imagery steps out of Ovid's pages almost unaltered into Shakespeare's:

se super aequora curvi
Tollere consuetas audent delphines in auras,[8]

His delights
Were dolphin-like; they show'd his back above
The element they lived in.[9]

Torrentem, qua nil obstabat eunti
Lenius et modico strepitu decurrere vidi;
At quacumque trabes obstructaque saxa tenebant,
Spumeus et fervens et ab obice saevior ibat.[10]

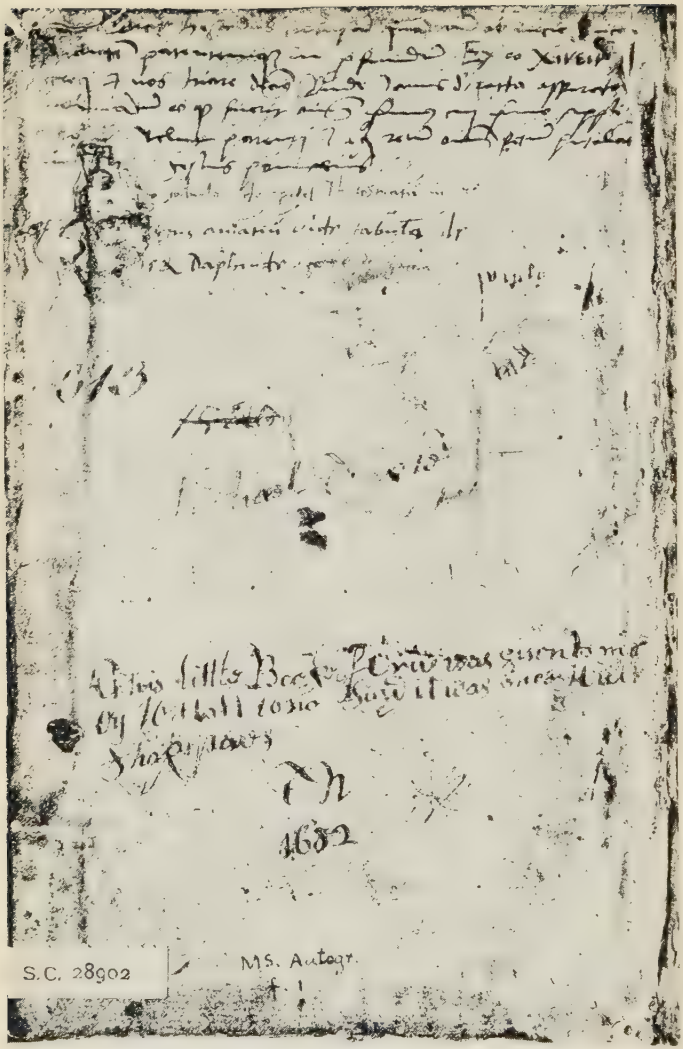
[1] *Sonnets*, lx, 1–4.
[2] Bk. xv. 262 f.
[3] *Sonnets*, lxiv. 5–7.
[4] Bk. xv. 266 f.
[5] *rerum tabularia* 810.
[6] *assiduo labuntur tempora motu* 179.
[7] *2 Hen. IV*, III. i. 45–53.
[8] Bk. ii. 265 f.
[9] *Ant. & Cleop.* v. ii. 88–90.
[10] Bk. iii. 568–71.

QVAE HOC VOLVMINE CONTINENTVR.

Ad Marinum Sanutum Epistola' qui apud græcos scripserint μεταμορφώσεις.
Aldo priuilegium concessum ad reip. literariæ utilitatem.
Orthographia dictionum græcarum per ordinem literarum.
Vita Ouidij ex ipsius operib.
Index fabularum et cæterorum, quæ insunt hoc libro secundum ordinem alphabeti.

OVIDII METAMORPHOSEΩN LIBRI QVINDECIM.

PAGE OF THE ALDINE *METAMORPHOSES* (1502)
at the Bodleian, with Shakespeare's abbreviated signature W^m Sh^e.



LEAF OF THE ALDINE *METAMORPHOSES* (1502)

opposite the title page, with note, 'This little Booke of Ovid was given to me by W. Hall who sayd it was once Will. Shakesperes. T N 1682

The current that with gentle murmur glides,
Thou knows't, being stopp'd, impatiently doth rage;
But when his fair course is not hindered
He makes sweet music with the enamell'd stones.[1]

Qui te genuere beati,
Sed longe cunctis longeque beatior illa,
Si qua tibi sponsa est, si quam dignabere taeda.[2]

Happy the parents of so fair a child,
Happier the man whom favorable stars
Allot thee for his lovely bed-fellow.[3]

Ut eburnea si quis
Signa tegat claro vel candida lilia vitro.[4]

A lily prison'd in a gaol of snow,
Or ivory in an alabaster band.[5]

acrior igni,
Surdior aequoribus.
Surdior . . . freto,
Durior et ferro, quod Noricus excoquit ignis.[6]

In rage deaf as the sea, hasty as fire.[7]

Iamque opus exegi, quod nec Iovis ira nec ignis
Nec poterit ferrum nec edax abolere vetustas.[8]

Nor Mars' sword nor war's quick fire shall burn
The living record of your memory.[9]

In conclusion, we will note Shakespeare's use of Ovid's chameleon,

Id quoque, quod ventis animal nutritur et aura,
Protinus assimulat tactu quoscunque colores (xv. 411 f.),

rendered by Golding, in his graceless fashion,

The creature also, which doth live by only air and wind
All colours that it leaneth-to doth counterfeit by kind.

[1] *Two Gent.* II. vii. 25–8; cf. *Ven. & Ad.* 331 f.: 'a river stay'd swelleth with more rage.'
[2] Bk. iv. 322, 325 f.
[3] *Tam. Sh.* IV. v. 39–41.
[4] Bk. iv. 354 f.
[5] *Ven. & Ad.* 362 f.
[6] Bk. xiii. 802, 804 and xiv. 711.
[7] *Rich. II*, I. i. 19.
[8] Bk. xv. 871 f.
[9] *Sonnet* lv.

Lyly paraphrases the first line in *Endymion*,

'Love is a chameleon, which draweth nothing into the mouth but air, and nourisheth nothing in the body but lungs' (III. iv. 144 f.).

There is reference to this conceit in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, II. i. 178 ff., where Speed says, 'Though the chameleon, Love, can feed on air, I am one that am nourished by my victuals, and would fain have meat'.

Shakespeare repeats his jest long afterwards in *Hamlet*:

King. How fares our cousin Hamlet?
Hamlet. Excellent i' faith, of the chameleon's dish: I eat the air, promise-crammed: you cannot feed capons so (III. ii. 97 ff.).

Shakespeare makes use of Ovid's second line in the *Third Part of King Henry the Sixth*:

Gloucester. I can add colours to the chameleon (III. ii. 191).

And he employs both lines in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, II. iv. 23 ff.:

Silvia. What, angry, Sir Thurio? do you change colour?
Valentine. Give him leave, madam; he is a kind of chameleon.
Thurio. That hath more mind to feed on your blood than live in your air.

18. KATHARINE HAMLET AND 'OPHELIA'

On Thursday, 17 December 1579, Katharine Hamlet, 'spinster', was drowned in the Avon at Tiddington, Warwickshire. Tiddington is a small village, which in 1579 was a good deal smaller, rather over a mile east of Stratford in the parish of Alveston; which parish adjoins that of Stratford on the left bank (south side) of the river.

The surname Hamlet does not occur in the Alveston register, and Katharine was evidently not a native. Unfortunately there is a gap in the register between 15 February 1578–9, and 14

April 1582, and therefore no record of her burial. On Thursday, 11 February 1579–80, eight weeks after her death, an inquest was held on her body (*super visum corporis*) by the Coroner for the district, Master Henry Rogers, who was Town Clerk and Steward of Stratford, agent to Sir Thomas Lucy, of Charlecote, and resident at Sherborne, between Charlecote and Warwick. The jury consisted of three local gentlemen, Master John Pearse, Master Thomas Townsend and Master John Lord, all of Alveston, and their neighbours, Giles Walker, Edmund and Thomas Baker, Richard Godwin, William Fawkener, Thomas Gibbs, Thomas Hicks, Thomas Ward, Robert Simcocks, and Robert Griffin. Their verdict was that Katharine aforesaid on 17 December, 'going with a certain vessel, in English *a pail*, to draw water at the river, standing on the bank of the same, suddenly and by accident slipped and fell into the water, and was drowned (*iens cum quodam mulctrale Anglice a paile ad afferendam aquam ad Rivum stans super ripam eiusdem subito ac per infortunium lapsit et cecidit et submersa fuit*), 'and not otherwise nor in other fashion came she by her death' (*et non aliter nec alio modo ad mortem suam devenit*) (P.R.O. Ancient Indictments, 652, pt. 2, m. 262).

Why was the inquest held so long after her death? And what happened to her body in the interval? As a rule the *inquisicio* immediately, or within a few days, followed the discovery of the corpse. When William Shakespeare, of Warwick (elder brother of the second John Shakespeare, of Stratford), was drowned in the Avon on Monday, 6 July 1579, his body was buried the same day in the churchyard of St. Nicholas. We read in the register: '1579, *Julij sexto die huius mensis sepultus fuit Gulielmus Shaxper qui demersus fuit in Rivulo aquae qui vel quae vocatur Avona*.' And in the Churchwardens' account under receipts appears, '*Item* the bell for William Shaxepere iiijd'. The inquest took place nine days later, on Wednesday, the 15th, *super visum corporis* (the body evidently being dis-

interred for the purpose); and the jury of thirteen townsmen found 'that the aforesaid William Shakespere on 6 July, walking to the River to bathe himself' (*ambulans ad Rivum ad lavandum seipsum*), 'suddenly and by accident fell into a deeper part of the River and was drowned' (*subito et per infortunium cecidit in inferiorem partem Rivi et submersus fuit*), 'and not otherwise nor in other fashion came he by his death' (*et non aliter nec alio modo ad mortem suam devenit*) (P.R.O. Ancient Indictments, 650, pt. 2, m. 208). Apparently William Shakespeare, of Warwick, unlike his great namesake of Stratford, was unable to swim. (Shakespeare's language about swimming is not that of mere observation, however envious, but of understanding and enthusiastic participation. He had swum in the Avon beyond his depth with other boys 'on bladders', and as a youth 'with lusty sinew' had 'plunged', in response to challenge, into the 'angry flood'—and the Avon could be 'angry'—and buffeted it, throwing it aside, and stemming it with heart of controversy. *Henry VIII*, III. ii. 359; *Julius Caesar*, I. ii. 100–9. Cf. the description of Ferdinand in the sea, striking for the shore: *Tempest*, II. i. 121–7).

The previous day, curiously enough, an inquest was held, nine miles away, at Balsall, on the body of John Shakespeare, of that village (not improbably a connexion of William Shakespeare of Warwick), found hanging from a beam in his house. The jury of twelve fellow-parishioners, *super visum corporis*, gave their verdict that the deceased on Monday, 13 July, 'regardless of the salvation of his soul, and led astray by instigation of the Devil' (*salvationem animae suae minime curans sed diabolica instigacione seductus*), 'tied a rope round his neck, fastened the other end to a beam, and with criminal intent hanged himself' (*felonice suspendit*), 'and not otherwise nor in other fashion came he by his death' (P.R.O. Ancient Indictments, 650, pt. 2, m. 235).

Yet another case, not quite so contemporary, throws light

on the fate of Katharine Hamlet. One Simon Bennett, a 'stranger', that is, a non-native, was riding into Stratford, presumably over Clopton Bridge, about 7 o'clock on Thursday evening, 6 February 1616–17, therefore in the dark, when he was thrown from his horse into the river and drowned, near to the Bear Inn, at the south-east corner of Bridge street. His body was found there next morning. On Saturday, the 8th, inquest was held, the jury 'viewed' the corpse, and burial took place that day in the churchyard, the great bell of the chapel being tolled. We read in the register: 'Feb. 8, Thomas[1] Bennitt, stranger' (*Register*, p. 92), and in the Chamberlains' Account under receipts for the bell, 'Symone Benytt iiijd.' (Council Book, B, p. 302). But this was not the end of the matter. Further inquest was held on Monday, 17 February, when the jury again 'viewed' the body, it 'being taken up' and 'brought into the Butt Lane'. Three charges were given to the jurors—Was the deceased 'feloniously slain', then by whom, 'and what goods he had, and did he flee for them or no?' Did he, 'not having the fear of God before his eyes, wilfully drown himself, yea or no? Whether he came to his death by any misfortune, yea or no, and the manner and circumstance thereof, as if riding upon a horse, by mischance the horse stumbling he fell into the water' (Miscellaneous Documents, v. 195, xvi. 19).

Property, as well as crime and the eternal welfare of the deceased, was involved in these inquiries. John Shakespeare's goods and chattels (which were inventoried) were forfeit to the Crown, and only by the mercy of the Queen's Almoner (John Piers, Bishop of Salisbury) were they granted on 25 July 1579 to the widow. If Simon Bennett had committed suicide, his possessions would similarly have been confiscate; and, as it

[1] A mistake for Simon (an indication of the need of care in studying and interpreting our Registers).

was, his horse, as a stray, was due to the borough of Stratford. Katharine Hamlet's goods, including her pail (if it was hers), came under consideration. John Shakespeare, being guilty of self-murder (*murderavit seipsum*) and breach of the Sixth Commandment, was not entitled to Christian burial.[1] His body was disposed of elsewhere than in Balsall churchyard or other Christian *coemeterium* ('sleeping-place' until the Last Trumpet) in a cross-road or a refuse-heap, where people might tread upon his grave or throw broken pots and stones on it. Such would have been the fate of William Shakespeare of Warwick, Simon Bennett at Stratford, and Katharine Hamlet of Alveston, had they been judged guilty of *felo de se*. Their corpses, disinterred for the *inquisiciones*, would not have been returned to their graves in holy ground, but cast into some hole in righteous horror and contempt.

Why, then, those eight weeks instead of so many days between the drowning of Katharine Hamlet and the inquest? It is possible that her body was not discovered until the beginning of February, that it was carried under ice, which did not break up until that date, and effectual search could not be made. But the terms of the verdict do not hint at such an unusual circumstance. *Iens cum mulctrale . . . stans super ripam . . . subito lapsit* more than suggest an eye-witness of the catastrophe, and recovery of the body within a few minutes or, at the most, hours.

Were the Alveston register complete, we should probably read of her burial in the churchyard, which was half a mile from Tiddington (a new church has been built, but the chancel of the old one still stands in the ancient graveyard), on or about 18 December; and there we may believe her body rested until taken up for the viewing by the jurors on 11 February; who pronounced the case one of *per infortunium* and therefore not of murder or *felo de se*. Whether this was the verdict every one

[1] See p. 134.

expected or not, whether the matter was a subject of anxious debate or none, we do not know; but the fact remains that the verdict, for some reason we can only conjecture, was not given until a most unusual lapse of time. In any circumstances the little community must have been considerably agitated, and talk and excitement would extend to Stratford.

Shakespeare was approaching his sixteenth year, and I do not doubt was a clerk in an attorney's office; which probably was that of the Town Clerk, Master Rogers, the Coroner. ('Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford,' 1553–1620, Volume III, xlii–xlviii.) Did he in after years transform the tragedy of Katharine Hamlet into the moving story of Ophelia? *Hamlet* bears witness to the poet's familiarity with country-town law and 'crowner's quest law'. (See I. i. 86–104; I. ii. 23–38, 59 f., 90 f.; II. ii. 195 f., 388–90, 420 f.; III. i. 75; III. iii. 60–4, 82; IV. iv. 18–22; IV. v. 206; IV. vii. 1; V. i. 1–32, 106–26.) It was as obviously written by a Stratford lawyer who had to do with cases of *per infortunium* and *felo de se* as by a leading London player—the hand of the one being unmistakable in the graveyard scene as that of the other in the scenes of Hamlet's welcome and instruction of the actors (II. ii, III. ii.).

There were various reports of Ophelia's death, as Shakespeare's genius presents it—and who but Shakespeare (and after him Browning) would think of discriminating them?[1] The account which reached the Court is circumstantial and, as we might expect, the most favourable:

> There is a willow, grows aslant a brook,
> That shows his hoar leaves in the glassy stream;
> There with fantastic garlands did she come,
> Of crow-flowers, nettles, daisies and long purples. . . .

[1] They mystified Lee (*Life*, p. 364, note 1), and are among the 'discrepancies' and marks of 'slip-shod carelessness' in which some post-War critics revel. Much in *Hamlet* is secret report.

There, on the pendent boughs her coronet weeds
Clambering to hang, an envious sliver broke,
When down her weedy trophies and herself
Fell in the weeping brook. Her clothes spread wide,
And mermaid-like awhile they bore her up;
Which time she chanted snatches of old tunes,
As one incapable of her own distress.
Or like a creature native and indued
Unto that element; but long it could not be
Till that her garments, heavy with their drink,
Pull'd the poor wretch from her melodious lay
To muddy death. (IV. vii. 167–70, 173–84.)

This came from an eye-witness, if true, and is a case of *per infortunium*. But the jurors at the inquest decided otherwise. There was evidence of *felo de se*, and the verdict was that Ophelia threw herself into the water. It was qualified, however, under 'sway of great command' and the plea, which was certainly just (we have seen Ophelia crazy in IV. v), that she took her life while in an unsound state of mind. The Church was not altogether satisfied on the point, but yielded with what grace she could. Ophelia is granted Christian burial with 'maimed rites':

Hamlet. Maimed rites? This doth betoken
The corse they follow did with desperate hand
Fordo its own life; 'twas of some estate. . . . [*Retires.*
Laertes. What ceremony else?
Priest. Her obsequies have been as far enlarged
As we have warrantise; her death was doubtful;
And but that great command o'ersways the order,
She should in ground unsanctified have lodged
Till the Last Trumpet; for charitable prayers,
Shards, flints, and pebbles should be thrown on her.
(V. i. 242–44, 248–54.)

The Gravediggers represent a third view, the working-class

view, that there was not 'doubt' but the 'gentlewoman', like John Shakespeare, of Balsall, 'wilfully' and 'wittingly' sought 'her own damnation':

First Clown. Is she to be buried in Christian burial that wilfully seeks her own salvation? *Second Clown.* I tell thee, she is; and therefore make her grave straight; the crowner hath sat on her, and finds it 'Christian burial'. *First Clo.* How can that be, unless she drowned herself in her own defence? *Second Clo.* Why, 'tis found so. *First Clo.* It must be *se offendendo*; it cannot be else.

He mixes up, deliciously, suicide with manslaughter—the plea of justifiable homicide in self-defence, *se defendendo*, and continues, in burlesque probably of the notorious case among lawyers of Sir James Hales (Hales *v.* Petit, reported by Plowden 1599):

For here lies the point: if I drown myself wittingly it argues an act; and an act hath three branches—it is to act, to do, and to perform: *argal*, she drowned herself wittingly. *Second Clo.* Nay, but hear you, Goodman Delver. *First Clo.* Give me leave. Here lies the water, good: here stands the man, good: if the man go to this water and drown himself, it is, will he nill he, he goes; mark you that: but if the water come to him and drown him, he drowns not himself: *argal*, he that is not guilty of his own death shortens not his own life. *Second Clo.* But is this law? *First Clo.* Ay, marry, is't, crowner's quest law. *Second Clo.* Will you ha' the truth on't? If this had not been a gentlewoman, she should have been buried out of Christian burial. *First Clo.* Why, there thou say'st; and the more pity that great folk should have countenance in this world to drown or hang themselves more than their even Christian. (v. i. 1–32).

Katharine Hamlet was not a 'gentlewoman'; but we may be certain that the long delay in holding of the inquest on her drowning would not allay any division of opinion or suspicion, if there were such, in the village; and we should not be sur-

prised if Shakespeare's dramatic picture reflected something of the state of mind of Tiddington.

The Avon at Tiddington is beautiful in winter, when poor Katharine Hamlet was drowned in it; infinitely more beautiful in June, when Ophelia with her garlands down fell in the 'glassy stream'. Below the farm-house and cottage gardens, from the end of one of which Katharine *lapsit et cecidit in rivum*, are lovely meadow-banks on an early summer day, with over-hanging willows, and masses of 'coronet-weeds',

> crow-flowers, nettles, daisies and long purples,

where Shakespeare would find the feast of river-glory into which his sad heroine sank to 'muddy death'.

19. THE 'CANON 'GAINST SELF-SLAUGHTER'

HAMLET says (*Hamlet*, I. ii. 131 f.)

> Or that the Everlasting had not fixed
> His canon 'gainst self-slaughter!

And again Imogen (*Cymbeline*, III. iv. 78 ff.):

> Against self-slaughter
> There is a prohibition so divine
> That cravens my weak hand.

The view of Saint Augustine (*De Civitate Dei*, i. 20 ff.) that suicide was included in the commandment 'Thou shalt not kill', seems to have been strongly held by Protestant reformers. Bullinger says in his *Decades* (translated into English by 'H. I.' in 1577, and appointed by Whitgift in 1586 to be read in the churches by ministers not licensed to preach):

'It cannot be found in the canonical books of Holy Scripture that God did either give leave or commandment to us mortal men to kill ourselves, thereby the sooner to obtain immortality

THE AVON AT TIDDINGTON

'THE TENERIES'

or to avoid imminent evil. For it must be understood that we are forbidden so to do by the law which saith "Thou shalt not kill"; namely, since he addeth not "thy neighbour", as he did in another precept, where he forbiddeth to bear false witness. For because he nameth not thy neighbour, he doth in that precept include thyself also. Therefore is the doctrine of Seneca to be utterly condemned which counselleth men in misery to despatch themselves, that by death their misery may be ended. And St. Augustine, disputing against them that do therefore murder themselves because they will not be subject to other men's filthy lusts, doth say: "If it be a detestable crime and a damnable sin for a man to murder himself, as the truth doth manifestly cry that it is, who is so mad to say, Let us sin now lest peradventure hereafter we happen to sin; let us now commit murder lest hereafter perhaps we fall into adultery"' (Parker Society, ii. 414 f.).

Hamlet says 'canon', and Bullinger limits the prohibition to 'the canonical books of Holy Scripture'. Hence Whitaker (*Disputatio*, 1588, translated by Fitzgerald 1849):

'In the Maccabees vi. Eleasar is praised for voluntarily rushing upon death. And in 2 Maccabees xiv. the fortitude of Razis deserved no praise for his fortitude. For this was to die cowardly rather than courageously to put himself voluntarily to death in order to escape from the hands of a tyrant. The Holy Spirit judges not of valour by the same measures as the profane men who extol Cato to the skies for committing suicide lest he should fall into the power and hands of Caesar' (Parker Society, p. 95).

So also Henry Smith, the gifted young Puritan preacher at St. Clement Danes, 1587–9, 'the silver-tongued Smith', lamented by Tom Nash in his *Piers Penniless* in 1592:

'Much, therefore, have they to answer which are not contented to die in peace and stay till they be dissolved; but as though themselves were the authors of life and death whose cruel heart give wrongful commission to the bloody hand; as Judas, Achitophel, Saul and Pilate did; not one of these was good in life or

death. Yet the author of the Maccabees commendeth Razis most of all for that which was the greatest sin that ever he did, for killing himself. Man was not born of his own pleasure, neither must he die at his own lust; or else it had been good for Job, which suffered more than any saint except Christ, to make away himself as Judas did. But why is it commanded, then, "Thou shalt not kill?" If thou mayest not kill another, much less mayest thou kill thyself?' (*The Pilgrim's Wish*).

The authors of the Geneva Bible do not comment on Eleazar's deed (1 Macc. vi. 46), but the Bishops' Bible has the note: 'This example is not to be followed, because it is contrary to the commandment.' On Razis' deed (2 Macc. xiv. 41) the Geneva has: 'This private example ought not to be followed of the godly, because it is contrary to the word of God, although the author seems here to approve it.' And the Bishops' Bible: 'This fact is not to be approved for that it is contrary to God's commandment, "Thou shalt not kill" (Exod. xx, Deut. v).'

Shakespeare's view, then, is strictly Biblical according to the opinion of the time. Suicide were murder in Hamlet or Imogen, as it was in Lucrece:

> Thy wretched wife mistook the matter so
> To slay herself that should have slain her foe.

(To have killed Tarquin in defence of her virtue would not have been murder.)

Before I leave Henry Smith's sermon (*The Pilgrim's Wish:* on Philip i. 23: 'I desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ') let me quote a passage that is a suggestive parallel to what Hamlet says in his later soliloquy on suicide:

'Do not the wicked themselves prophesy by their fear of death a worse condition of some dreadful judgement after this life, prepared for sinners and all that contemn God, when none but they stand in such fear of death? Why doth one wish it and

another tremble to hear of it? *If it were but a sleep, no man would fear it at all; for who feareth to take his rest when the night approacheth?*'

Hamlet's lines are (III. i. 60 ff.):

> To die: to sleep;
> No more; and by a sleep to say we end
> The heart-ache and the thousand natural shocks
> That flesh is heir to; 'tis a consummation
> Devoutly to be wished. To die, to sleep;
> To sleep: perchance to dream: ay, there 's the rub;
> For in that sleep of death what dreams may come,
> When we have shuffled off this mortal coil,
> Must give us pause.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Who would fardels bear,
> To grunt and sweat under a weary life,
> But that the dread of something after death,
> The undiscovered country from whose bourn
> No traveller returns,[1] puzzles the will,
> And makes us rather bear those ills we have
> Than fly to others that we know not of.
> Thus conscience doth make cowards of us all.

It is indispensable that we should study Shakespeare in his religious environment, e. g. the King's and Queen's sin in *Hamlet* is not merely adultery, but incest.

20. 'FALSTAFF'

CHIEF among the Lollard martyrs was Sir John Oldcastle. We know little of him, but that little is much more than was known for a century and a half after his death, and a great deal more to his credit than the fantastic and widespread notions cherished by his enemies. Historically he was a personal friend of Prince Henry of Monmouth, afterwards King

[1] Save, of course, as a ghost, 'forbid to tell the secrets of his prison-house' (I. v. 10–22).

Henry the Fifth. He was born about 1375, and was a youth in his native Herefordshire when Swinderby, Nicolas of Hereford, and other disciples of Wiclif preached in the neighbourhood. From them he probably learned Lollard doctrines. He was a reader and a soldier, a reader of the Wiclifite Bible and a soldier in the Prince's service against the 'Welsh wizard', Owen Glendower. In June 1408, or shortly before, he became by marriage Lord Cobham, of Cowling Castle in Kent, with a seat by royal favour in the House of Lords. He had a chaplain who was a Lollard and preached heretical sermons in the churches round about. He wrote letters of encouragement to the Bohemian reformer, John Huss, who was excommunicated at Prague in July 1410. In the autumn of 1411 Oldcastle fought in France, assisting the Burgundians in the occupation of Paris. King Henry the Fourth had ambitious designs on France which his son inherited. Henry the Fourth died in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster on 20 March 1413, and Henry the Fifth, Oldcastle's friend and protector, was crowned on 10 April. Oldcastle, we are told, was 'dear and welcome' to the young King, in spite of the fact that he was strongly suspected of 'heretical depravity'. Henry did not share his religious opinions, but loved him for his 'integrity', and sheltered him, as long as he could, from the ecclesiastical authorities. He was charged, at length, with being a notorious unbeliever, with receiving and befriending unlicensed preachers, with sending them forth and attending their meetings. The King tried personally to convince him of his errors. Oldcastle refused admission into his castle of a summons from the Archbishop, which was posted accordingly on the door of Rochester Cathedral on 5 September 1413. He was arrested and committed to the Tower. He escaped by means of a Lollard friend, in whose house in Smithfield he spent the winter in hiding. Early in January 1414 a futile demonstration was made on his behalf in St. Giles's Fields.

Walsingham describes the excitement of the night, the running to and fro, the confusion and the terror, but the city gates were closed and the matter ended without bloodshed. Oldcastle got away into the Midlands and thence into Wales. When King Henry crossed from Southampton to Harfleur in August 1415, on his way to Agincourt, Oldcastle was not among his warriors. He was missed and blamed in this season of patriotic enthusiasm. Two years later he was taken in Wales, after a desperate resistance, and brought wounded to London. No time was lost in dispatching him. Condemned by Parliament on 14 December 1417, he was put to death the same day in St. Giles's Fields, suspended over a fire by a chain from the gallows.

Ecclesiastical hatred, and, it must be added, popular misunderstanding and abuse, quickly painted the man in very different colours from those of a hero and a martyr for the truth. They represented him with something of the scorn visited by the Protestant populace of a later day on Guy Fawkes.[1] He was a traitor to God and the King, a boon companion of the King when Prince of Wales, a misleader of youth, a coward and a sanctimonious hypocrite, 'babbling[2] the Bible day and night' when he ought to be serving the Crown or asleep. Out of such conceptions grew the character which at last came to Shakespeare's hand, and which he, oblivious of any historical injustice, shaped *con amore* and magnificently, into the figure so familiar to us as Sir John Falstaff.

The intermediate stages are difficult to trace, but certain of them are unmistakable, and the contrast of the beginning and the end, of the Sir John Oldcastle of sober history and the Sir John Oldcastle of inspired fiction, is so remarkable that we can understand how Shakespeare one day, after reading perhaps

[1] Gairdner, *On the Historical Element in Shakespeare's Falstaff.*
[2] *Political Poems* (Wright), ii. 244, cf. Theobald's inspired correction of 'a table of green fields' to 'a' babbled of green fields'. Falstaff was 'babbling the Bible'. See further., p, 105 f.

Foxe's Book of Martyrs, realized with a shock how gravely he had taken a good man's name in vain, and tried to make amends by changing *Oldcastle* into *Falstaff*, and declaring emphatically in the Epilogue to his *Second Part of King Henry the Fourth*: 'Oldcastle died a martyr, and this is not the man.'[1]

The question of his hero's death seems to have brought to the poet's mind the striking incongruity. It is evident that he intended Oldcastle to die in his bed, and he discovers that his original was burned in St. Giles's Fields. But Shakespeare was hardly less unhappy in the substitution of the name Falstaff, which is only a variant of Fastolf.[2] Sir John Fastolf was a contemporary of Sir John Oldcastle and, like him, a Lollard (though Shakespeare was unaware of this), who had suffered *per odium theologicum* in his reputation. He was unjustly charged with cowardice. He was not an idler in taverns, but an able man of business, both in his own and in the King's affairs. In his many letters there is not a trace of humour. He was distinctly unpopular rather than gifted with the spirit of good fellowship.

Coming now to Shakespeare's own dramatic creation, his immortal humorist whom he called first Sir John Oldcastle, then Sir John Falstaff, we may note in the light of what has been said, his remarkable acquaintance with Scripture. No character in Shakespeare knows his Bible better. That you may say does not speak well for the Bible. In Shakespeare's view it does not speak well for Falstaff. In the very first scene in which he appears he talks of salvation by grace and salvation by merit, of labouring in his vocation, and of the spirit of persuasion, and recognizes, painfully, the Prince's quotation of the Proverbs, 'Wisdom cries out in the streets and no man

[1] I think also that Shakespeare may have had a reminder from Charlecote, that the late and greatly esteemed Lady Lucy (†1596) was a descendant of Sir Roger Acton, who was hanged as an accomplice of Oldcastle in 1414. [2] Shakespeare always writes 'Falstaffe'.

regards it' (i. 20, 24), while he mocks at preachers and preaching, and laughs at the charge that he has spent Good Friday not on fasting in sackcloth and ashes, but on sack and feasting. Clearly he is no sanctimonious hypocrite, but, equally clearly, *he is a sinner against the light*. His speeches in both parts of *Henry the Fourth* are strewn with phrases, images, and allusions which prove his knowledge of Old and New Testament and intimate acquaintance with the Biblical doctrines on which contemporary Protestantism laid stress. He has been well brought up as a child and a boy, has had the education of godly parents and schoolmasters, and is what he is *in spite of it*.

Nor is this Puritan training altogether without its influence. Two of Christ's parables, at least, have made an ineffaceable impression. Falstaff cannot forget them. They haunt his conscience. If Adam and his frailty are his excuse, the Prodigal Son and, still more, Dives the Glutton, are his reproach. There is a sarcastic humour in Shakespeare in making Falstaff sandwich 'the story of the Prodigal Son', as the subject for a wall-hanging in Dame Quickly's house, between 'a pretty slight drollery' and 'the German hunting', and again in accommodating him in a room at Windsor 'painted about with the story of the Prodigal fresh and new'. It is more than a jest. The poet never introduces Scripture merely for the sake of laughter. There is a touch of tragedy in the comedy. We laugh, but we do more. We think and fear also. As when the unscrupulous old knight, after cheating and endangering his country by raising against the rebels a worthless company of recruits with which he is ashamed to march through Coventry, declares 'You would think that I had a hundred and fifty tattered Prodigals lately come from swine keeping, from eating draff and husks'. A good actor would make us feel that the chief prodigal was not among his men but was himself. In this same speech Falstaff calls his soldiers 'slaves as ragged as Lazarus in the painted cloth, where the Glutton's dogs licked his sores'.

Elizabethan writers almost invariably speak of Dives as 'The Glutton'. Nash introduces him under the head of Gluttony in his representation of the Seven Deadly Sins, 'a fat churl', with 'a belly as big as the Round Church in Cambridge'. Falstaff is half afraid that he may be that Glutton and meet with his fate. He remembers his 'hot-tongue' in Hell. He says to Bardolph, not without an undertone of seriousness, 'I never see thy face but I think upon Hell-fire, and Dives that lived in purple, for there he is, in his robes, burning, burning' (*1 Hen. IV*, III. iii. 35 ff.). 'Let him be damned', he says of his tailor, for not accepting Nym and Bardolph as securities, 'like the Glutton! pray God his tongue be hotter' (*2 Hen. IV*, I. ii. 33 ff.).

Falstaff's humour is immense. It is infectious, irresistible and overwhelming. Dr. Bradley has admirably described and analyzed it.

'Why we should laugh at a man with a huge belly and corresponding appetites, at the inconveniences he suffers on a hot day, or in playing the footpad, or when he falls down and there are no levers at hand to lift him up again; at the incongruity of his unwieldy bulk and the nimbleness of his spirit, the infirmities of his age and his youthful lightness of heart; at the enormity of his lies and wiles, and the suddenness of their exposure and frustration; at the contrast between his reputation and his real character—*why* we should laugh this is no place to inquire, but unquestionably we do. But there is more. The main reason why he makes us so happy and puts us so entirely at our ease is that he himself is happy and entirely at his ease. Happy is too weak a word; he is in bliss and we share his glory. Enjoyment—no fitful pleasure crossing a dull life, nor any vacant convulsive mirth—but a rich deep-toned chuckling enjoyment circulates continually through all his being. If you ask *what* he enjoys, no doubt the answer is, in the first place, eating and drinking, taking his ease at his inn, and the company of other merry souls. Compared with these things what we count the graver interests of life are

nothing to him. While we are under his spell it is impossible to consider these graver interests; gravity is to us as to him inferior to gravy. . . . But again . . . Falstaff's ease and enjoyment are not simply those of the happy man of appetite; they are those of the humourist, and the humourist of genius. Instead of being comic to you and serious to himself, he is more ludicrous to himself than to you. . . . Prince Hal never made such sport of Falstaff's person as he himself did. It is *he* who says that his skin hangs about him like an old lady's loose gown, and that he walks before his page like a sow that hath o'erwhelmed all her litter but one. And he jests at himself when he is alone just as much as when others are by.'[1]

This is excellent, it could not be better said, save for one statement that needs considerable qualification. It is not true that 'a rich deep-toned chuckling enjoyment circulates *continually* through all his being'. On the contrary, he is sometimes very far from happy; and strong exception to this further sentence must be taken: 'For all his addiction to sack, you never see him for an instant with a brain dulled by it, or a temper turned solemn, silly, quarrelsome or pious.' For this is precisely what we *do* see, and not only once, but again and again. His mood is by no means always that of triumphant ease and laughter. He suffers from reaction after revelling, from depression following indulgence, from moroseness after gaiety, from qualms of conscience and fear of death. He says silly things, makes jokes that are entirely out of place, contradicts himself almost childishly, and has to acknowledge that he has been made an ass of by women and children and a Welsh parson. 'Have I laid my brain', he asks, 'in the sun and dried it? 'Tis time I were choked by a piece of toasted cheese.'

Falstaff's humour, when it is awake and vivid, is so brilliant that it is apt to turn our heads. I am afraid it has confused and dazzled Dr. Bradley. As he finely says, Falstaff has that

[1] *Oxford Lectures on Poetry*, by A. C. Bradley, LL.D., Litt.D., 260 ff.

'inexplicable touch of infinity' which is also in Cleopatra. Both characters may enthral us. I believe they often do.[1] But they do not enthral Shakespeare. He always has them well in hand. And he brings them at last to the stern judgement of moral law and divine fact.

Falstaff sings ecstatically (and through him Shakespeare ironically) the praises of sack, which is a main cause of his undoing. His spirits rise and fall under the potency of this favourite beverage. In the scene of his first appearance he is, by his own confession, 'as melancholy as a Gib-cat or a lugged bear' (*1 Hen. IV*, I. ii. 82 f.). After his failure at Gadshill he is so low that he would he were a weaver: he could 'sing Psalms *or anything*'. He must be very low indeed. Next morning he is so 'fallen away' and 'withered' that he is ready to *repent*—he has forgotten, he tells us, 'what the inside of a church is made of'. But he recovers from this attack sufficiently to eat his breakfast. He exhibits other marks of alcohol poisoning.[2] He suffers from gout and a pain in his great toe. He has grown forgetful. His lies are 'open, palpable'. His two men in buckram in as many minutes become eleven, and Kendal-green is visible in a darkness where he could not see his hand. The Prince calls him 'clay-brained', 'a knotty-pated fool'. In his second encounter with the Lord Chief Justice he is severely worsted. He is no match for the grave lawyer, who dismisses him, deservedly, with 'the Lord lighten thee! thou art a great fool!' He loses his sense of fitness and proportion, as in such incidents as his drawing a jack[3] of sack from his pistol-case in the battle, and his venturing on a foolish joke in the presence of the King in

[1] e. g. John Bailey dies blissfully in Cleopatra's lap (*Shakespeare*, p. 190).

[2] Not to mention symptoms like uncritical satisfaction with himself and his performances, disregard of conditions and occurrences requiring caution, trespass of rules, impaired appreciation of the passage of time, loquacity. Was there ever such a study of alcoholism?

[3] A pistol-shaped leather bottle. See Oliver Baker, *Black Jacks & Leather Bottells*, p. 61 f.

the camp near Shrewsbury. And whatever reputation he may have had for courage, he proves himself a contemptible coward—in the highway robbery,[1] in his encounter with Douglas, and his mutilation of Hotspur's body—'Zounds, I am afraid of this gunpowder Percy, though he be dead: how if he should counterfeit too and rise?' When Dr. Bradley pleads that Falstaff was really brave, we wonder if he will urge next his fitness to be a good husband and father!

Other diseases, closely connected with drink, dog his footsteps and warn him of his end, *maladies de France*, which make him lame and cause him to send to the doctor. Doll Tearsheet says to him, 'When wilt thou begin to patch up thine old body for Heaven?' He answers, 'Peace, good Doll! do not speak like a death's head; do not bid me remember mine end.' This is something more than comedy. Profoundly, pitifully tragic is Dame Quickly's account of his death, and her indication of the chief cause of it. 'I felt to his knees, and so upward, *and all was as cold as any stone*.'[2]

The fact is, this clever and brilliant voluptuary, by birth and training a gentleman and a Christian, shrewd and capable by nature and incomparably witty, instructed in the paths of righteousness and religion, deliberately takes 'the primrose way to the Everlasting Bonfire', and steadily deteriorates, in body and mind, until 'cloyed with fat meat' we are relieved rather than pained or surprised by the young King's decisive rejection of the dissolute old *roué*.

Dr. Bradley objects to this repudiation; and if Falstaff were merely a comic figure, merely a laughing-stock, not to be taken at any time very seriously—and I am afraid that many so regard him—we should object also; but if we have felt, as I believe we are intended to feel, and as I think the poet himself felt,

[1] Poins says of him in contempt, 'How the fat rogue roared!' (Quarto reading 1598, *Shakespearean Rarities* 19).
[2] 'Death is at the seat of lust.' Henry Morley, *English Writers*, x. 291.

the dangerous attraction, especially to a young man and a prince and a king, the perilous fascination of good-fellowship and delightful *camaraderie* behind which lurks no small measure of the World, the Flesh, and the Devil, we hail with genuine satisfaction the stern rebuke at last administered by emancipated and responsible youth to an unaccountable and dishonourable old age.

Let me remind you of the situation. Falstaff has come up with all speed from Gloucestershire, where he has been sponging on Justice Shallow, on hearing of the old King's death. His last words in Gloucestershire were these: 'Let us take any man's horses; the laws of England are at my commandment. Blessed are they that have been my friends, and woe to my Lord Chief Justice.' He arrives with Shallow, from whom he has borrowed £1,000, in time to see the royal procession from Westminster after the coronation. Travel-stained and sweating they stand at the edge of the crowd. The Abbey doors are thrown open, and the organ peals forth after the sacred service so deeply moving to the young King in that ancient edifice among the tombs and spirits of his ancestors. The trumpets sound and the roar of the people is like the sea. As the King with his train approaches, Falstaff and Pistol shout to him with unseemly familiarity, thrusting themselves upon the royal attention—'Hal! imp of fame! my sweet boy!' Asked if he has his wits, if he knows what he speaks, Falstaff only cries the more, 'My King, my love, my heart!' He is not mad and he is not drunk—he is intoxicated by an irreverent sense of the claim of his gross personality on the hereditary and, in the poet's eyes, divine embodiment of Authority in the State. Then comes the shock of his life, which was both his death and the awakening of his senses:

> I know thee not, old man: fall to thy prayers.
> How ill white hairs become a fool and jester!
> I have long dreamed of such a kind of man,

So surfeit-swelled, so old and so profane;
But being awaked I do despise my dream.
Make less thy body hence and more thy grace;
Leave gormandising; know the grave doth gape
For thee thrice wider than for other men.
Reply not to me with a fool-born jest.
Presume not that I am the thing I was;
For God doth know, so shall the world perceive,
That I have turned away my former self;
So will I those that kept me company.
When thou dost hear I am as I have been,
Approach me, and thou shalt be as thou wast,
The tutor and the feeder of my riots:
Till then, I banish thee, on pain of death,
As I have done the rest of my misleaders,
Not to come near our person by ten mile.
For competence of life I will allow you,
That lack of means enforce you not to evil:
And, as we hear you do reform yourselves,
We will, according to your strengths and qualities,
Give you advancement. Be it your charge, my lord,
To see performed the tenour of our word.
Set on.

Is this puritan? Undoubtedly it is, the puritanism of one who has been scorched and has escaped the fire, of King Henry and probably of Shakespeare.

After such a repulse it is a small thing that Falstaff was sent to the Fleet. He was not there long and he came out to die. The King had 'killed his heart', as his vices had chilled his body until from the feet upward it was 'as cold as any stone'. We see him on his death-bed, in Mistress Quickly's bit of matchless prose. Few passages in Shakespeare are more wonderful, more pathetic. The jests are swallowed up in seriousness. The old man dies where he has lived and reigned, in the Tavern. So sociable in life he is solitary in death. Only

Mistress Quickly and the boy are with him—no friend, no minister is present. All the spiritual consolation he receives is from the hostess, who mixes up Arthur and Abram. She knows Malory better than her Bible. The scraps of Scripture are evidently from his own lips. Abraham's bosom and the soul burning in Hell are from the parable of the Glutton; the Whore of Babylon is out of Revelation; the babbling of green fields was probably his recollection of the twenty-third Psalm and the days of his childhood. A realistic touch is the turning of the tide at London Bridge.

'Nay, sure, he's not in Hell: he's in Arthur's bosom, if ever man went to Arthur's bosom.'[1] He was an ample armful. Perhaps King Arthur's bosom was more capacious than that of the patriarch. 'He made a finer end and went away an it had been any Christian child: a' parted even just between twelve and one, even at the turning o' the tide: for after I saw him fumble with the sheets and play with flowers and smile upon his fingers' ends, I knew there was but one way; for his nose was as sharp as a pen, and a' babbled of green fields'—

[1] Luke xvi. 18–26, as heard by Shakespeare in Church:

'THE RICH GLUTTON AND LAZARUS.'

'There was a certain rich man which was clothed in purple and fine white, and fared very deliciously every day. And there was a certain beggar, named Lazarus, which was laid at his gate full of sores; and desiring to be refreshed with the crumbs which fell from the rich man's board. And no man gave unto him, but the dogs came and licked his sores. And it came to pass that the beggar died, and was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom. The rich man also died and was buried; and being in Hell in torments, when he had lifted up his eyes, he seeth Abraham afar off and Lazarus in his bosom. And he cried and said, Father Abraham, have mercy on me, and send Lazarus that he may dip the tip of his finger in water and cool my tongue, for I am tormented in this flame. But Abraham said, Son, remember that thou in thy life time receivedst thy pleasure, and likewise Lazarus pains; but now he is comforted and thou art tormented. Besides all this, between us and you there is a great gulf steadfastly set, so that they which would go from hence to you, cannot, neither have they passage to us that would come from thence' (Bishops' Bible, 1568).

LODGE AT THE ENTRANCE TO THE GILD HALL
AND CHAPEL QUAD

with a Flea in his eare, but I must flea his
his eares a little handsomer ere wee pa
bee so disposed to take a view of hin

The picture of Gabriell Harvey, as hee is readie to let fly vpon Aiax.

F 4

come to the
Moone and r
of his wretcl
them behold
terfet and port
pantofles of h
he was when I
my | Lord of (
single-soald p
uersitie, with h
vntrussing, an
himselfe, vpor
going in hand
If you ask
put him in r
vsually weare
is because I v
looke more (
and round
otherwise he
of tooth-pike:
put in a su
Gaze vppon h
I tell you, I
proud of m
and, though I say it, I haue handled it s
sprightly, and withall ouzled gidumbled
drizled it so finely, that I forbid euer a *Ho*
Holbine or *Hauns Mullier* of them all (le

'THE PICTURE OF GABRIELL HARVEY'
(*McKerrow*, Nashe, iii. 38)

'He shall feed me in a green pasture and lead me forth beside the waters of comfort'—

'"How now, Sir John!" quoth I: "what man! be o' good cheer." So a'cried out, "God, God, God!" three or four times. Now I, to comfort him, bid him a' should not think of God; I hoped there was no need to trouble himself with any such thoughts yet. So a' bade me lay more clothes on his feet.'

What grim irony is here! A word or two gives us the very mind of the poet. He smiles at the kindly woman's thought, which is that of not a few. Comfort is not in God, but in warm feet. The poor old sinner asks of her the best that she can give, such as it is.

No, he is not in Hell. Repentance, and the abundant goodwill and pity of the audience, save him. There are more deadly sins than 'the vice', deplored in certain Warwickshire clergy, 'of good fellowship'.[1]

21. 'MONSIEUR JAQUES', 'MOUNSIR WHATYE-CALL'T'

I WANT to look at Jaques, not as we may have seen him on the stage (I have never witnessed a representation in the least resembling the original), but as Shakespeare portrays him with unmistakable definiteness. I will confine myself strictly to the Poet's statements and context, and by his context I mean his literary and artistic environment of the year 1600, the date of *As You Like It*.

First the name, which is spelt in the Folio (the only contemporary edition) J-a-q-u-e-s. That in France would be pronounced *Jácques*, in England *Jakes*: Jácques being the French descendant of the Biblical 'Jacobus', which has given us our 'James'.

Jaques, pronounced Jakes, was the common epithet in Eng-

[1] 'Survey of the Ministry', 1586. *Min. and Acc.* iv. 2–8.

land for a Frenchman, and distinctly depreciatory.[1] Frenchmen were not exactly loved by Elizabethan Englishmen. The proposed marriage, however hypocritical, between Elizabeth and the French prince, le Duc d'Alençon, in 1580, excited passionate resentment in her countrymen. 'Monsieur', to give him the name he went by, left a nasty taste behind him, and not the least unpleasant in the Poet's Warwickshire, the home of the leading opponents of the 'French Match', the Earls of Warwick and Leicester.

In only one play does Shakespeare say a good word of Frenchmen, and that is considerably qualified. Bertram, Parolles and Lavache are disreputable compatriots (in *All's Well that Ends Well*) of little Helena and her father, the Countess of Rousillon, Lafeu and the King. Characters in *As You Like It* are only nominally French—in blood they are as English as the Forest is English, Arden and not Ardennes. Jaques, who is addressed as 'Monsieur', is the one who has a touch of the Frenchman in him, and thereby hangs a tale.

I think that Shakespeare in portraying him introduced traits from an eminent Frenchman of the time, Montaigne. He had recently died, in 1592, and his remarkable collection of Essays, completed in 1588, was entered in translation by John Florio at Stationers' Hall in 1599. Florio was the tutor and friend of the 'Friend' of Shakespeare's *Sonnets*, the Earl of Southampton. Shakespeare must have met Florio in Southampton's house in London, and heard from him of Montaigne, and read some at least of the essays in English (if not in French) before the publication of the translation in 1603. Shakespeare makes undoubted use of Florio's version in *Hamlet*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Troilus and Cressida*, and *Measure for Measure*. His copy of the book is one of the treasures of the British Museum.[2]

[1] 'Jaques Scabb'd-hams or Monsieur Mingo de Mousetrap' (Nashe, *Pierce Pennilesse* 1592).

[2] There is no good reason to doubt the genuineness of the Poet's signature.

Michel, Seigneur de Montaigne, a little French aristocrat with a big moustache, deplored the passing of the *ancien régime* (the best of which is given by Shakespeare in *All's Well that Ends Well*), and the religious wars of France, and growth of 'cruelty' among his countrymen until he had more faith in the 'cannibals' of the New World; and with masterly ease and 'good breeding' wrote of himself, undisguisedly, in relation to current 'barbarism' and 'many matters', including horsemanship, and the passion that 'kept him in breath' and 'diverted him from *taedium vitae*', namely a tempered intercourse with his fair and healthy young mistresses. He was not a cynic—he was too mild for that, he had too little conscience to make him bitter—but he was 'melancholy' (*melancholia* was a fashion), critical, self-absorbed and self-revealing, always interesting, and an unblushing old lecher.

I do not doubt that *As You Like It* is the earliest of Shakespeare's plays to show the influence of this striking, independent, communicative, suggestive, but unsavoury genius.

Jakes is an unsavoury word, ill-disguised as Jakës (sometimes to suit the metre). Old Kent in *King Lear* could have trodden the effeminate Oswald into mortar and 'daubed the walls of a jakes with him'. English satirists associated the Frenchman with the privy. Nashe in *Pierce Penilesse* (1592) tells us:

'The Frenchman thinks he doth a great favour to that follower of his to whom he talks sitting on his close-stool. . . . A great man of their nation coming into England, in requital of his admirable entertainment, on an evening going to the privy (as it were to honour extraordinarily our English lords appointed to attend him), gave one the candle, another his girdle, and another the paper; but they (not acquainted with this new kind of gracing) accompanying him to the privy-door, set down the trash and so left him.'[1]

[1] McKerrow, *Nashe*, i. 177.

John Harington (not yet Sir John) euphemistically gave the house-of-office the name of a famous Homeric hero. He startled his godmother the Queen in 1596 with his outspoken book (published by Shakespeare's friend, Richard Field), a plea for homely speech against affectation, entitled *A New Discourse of a Stale Subject, called the Metamorphosis of Ajax*. The subject was the advantage of the newly invented water-closet. Elizabeth bade her 'saucy godson' leave the Court until he could be less indelicate.[1] Courtiers laughed, and Shakespeare laughed and made courtiers laugh again by allusions in his plays. One of his additions to the revised *Love's Labour's Lost* of 1598 was Costard's reproof of Sir Nathaniel as 'Alisander': 'You will be scraped out of the painted-cloth for this: your lion, that holds his poll-axe sitting on a close-stool, will be given to Ajax.' In 1600, in *As You Like It*, he gave to his little French philosopher the name of the unreformed stool, not far from the dunghill. Touchstone, out of politeness, addresses him, 'Good even, good Master What-ye-call't'.

Let us look at 'Master What-ye-call't'. He has had a noisome past. The Duke, irritated by his mockery of others and want of shame for himself, reproves him, and does not spare him:

> thou thyself hast been a libertine,
> As sensual as the brutish sting itself;
> And all the embossed sores and headed evils
> That thou with license of free foot hast caught,
> Would'st thou disgorge into the general world.

Nor does Jaques deny it. He passes it by, in fluent periods in justification of his criticism. If he is throwing up an unwholesome vomit he is not guilty of personalities! He draws the line at charging any individual with his vices.

[1] Nashe, in his turn, seems to have given offence to Harington by his unbridled perpetration of the joke in his attack on Gabriel Harvey in *Have with you to Saffron Walden* 1596. See McKerrow, iii. 38 and v. 146 (I should date the epigram 1596).

He is an elderly gentleman—Audrey speaks of him as 'the old gentleman'. He has outgrown his sensualities, else he were intolerable in the play, but has in him a vitality which Montaigne did not possess in earlier years. His power of invective is beyond that of his easy-going prototype. And he has a penetrating voice, shrill and unmusical. He is *Gallus* and *gallus*, as Eliot Cooper says 'a Frenchman and a cocke'. I have heard an actor pronounce the famous lines on the 'seven ages' in a deep sonorous voice, holding the reverent attention of stage and theatre as if he were uttering the Sermon on the Mount or similar piece of profound wisdom—and I have heard Shakespeare groan in his tomb. His melancholy cynic laughs 'like chanticleer', when he does laugh, and so greatly does he appreciate his joke that he crows, up and down 'sans intermission', an hour by the dial. When an old gentleman breaks out into this unrestrained hilarity, we do not take to him. He makes us listen but we put him down as a quaint and queer old 'cock'. Shakespeare uses him as a foil to all the brave, wise, delightful personages of the drama. They have a good deal to bear, are banished from comfortable homes, hunt for food—Rosalind could cry like a child for weariness, Orlando and Adam are on the verge of starvation. But they endure cheerfully, refrain from grumbling, encourage each other—'sweet are the uses of adversity'. Jaques, on the other hand, is in the wilderness by choice or his own fault, and he finds fault. He is sullen, he talks and thinks of himself, he loves to hear himself talk, true to his root he is *garrulus* as well as *gallus*, and he rubs against every one in turn.

First we see him by himself, sitting by a stream. Others hunt, he shares in what they catch. He talks for lack of company to a wounded stag:

> Poor deer, quoth he, thou makest a testament
> As worldlings do, giving thy sum of more
> To that which had too much.

Again, the stag deserted:

> 'Tis right, quoth he; thus misery doth part
> The flux of company.

Then, a careless herd leaping by, he says,

> Sweep on, you fat and greasy citizens
> 'Tis just the fashion; wherefore do you look
> Upon that poor and broken bankrupt there?

Tears roll down the stag's face, and Jaques drops his tear into the stream. He can feel for an animal, in sentimental fashion, moved by dislike of men.

It is dinner-time, eleven o'clock, and Jaques is not late. He has dried his eye, and taken his seat under the tree where huntsmen have prepared meat and drink, and are about to lay a cloth. Amiens sings,

> Under the greenwood tree
> Who loves to lie with me,
> And turn his merry note
> Unto the sweet bird's throat—
> *Come hither, come hither, come hither!*
> Here shall he see no enemy
> But winter and rough weather.

Jaques interposes with his shrill, 'More, more, I prithee more', which is hardly a 'sweet bird's note'. He is not musical. If he, says the Duke,

> compact of jars, grow musical,
> We shall have shortly discord in the spheres—

the seat, in medieval thought, of *Harmonia*. We recall the lines (*Mer. of Ven.* v. i. 83),

> The man that hath no music in himself,
> Nor is not moved with concord of sweet sounds,
> Is fit for treasons, stratagems and spoils;
> The motions of his spirit are dull as night
> And his affections dark as Erebus:
> Let no such man be trusted.

Jaques is not so bad as that, but he makes 'merry' at singing. He can 'suck melancholy out of a song', by which we understand mockery, '*as a weasel sucks eggs*'. Shakespeare did not fancy a weasel. He speaks of it as a 'night-wandering' beast, that 'creeps' and 'shrieks', is splenetic and 'quarrelous', and will come 'sneaking' to an eagle's nest and 'suck her princely eggs'.

Amiens good-naturedly continues to 'warble':

> Who doth ambition shun,
> And loves to live i' the sun,
> Seeking the food he eats
> And pleas'd with what he gets—
> *Come hither, come hither, come hither!*
> Here shall he see no enemy
> But winter and rough weather.

The sweet bird's note, repeated, not as Browning says 'twice over', but more accurately *thrice*, in each stanza, is that of the thrush. To burlesque a thrush is hardly the mark of an Englishman. We prefer that Monsieur rather than Master Jaques should be the author of the following parody:

> If it do come to pass
> That any man turn ass,
> Leaving his wealth and ease
> A stubborn will to please,
> *Duedamé, duedamé, duedamé!*
> Here shall he see gross fools as he
> An if he will come to me.

Duedamé (which I read for the meaningless 'ducdame' of the Folio) sounds very like an expression I have heard on the lips of laymen,

> Goddammé, goddammé, goddammé!

If so, how the audience must have enjoyed the innocent in-

quiry of Amiens, 'What's that "Duedamé"?' and Jaques' rejoinder "Tis a Greek invocation, to call fools into a circle'.

The cynic's encounters with Orlando and Rosalind are characteristic. To the former he is deliberately rude:

'I thank you for your company; but, good faith, I had as lief have been myself alone . . . let's meet as little as we can. . . . Rosalind is your love's name? I do not like her name. . . . Have you not been acquainted with goldsmiths' wives and conned them out of rings? . . . I was seeking for a fool when I found you.'

Orlando gives him better than he gets but is too happy in love to lose his temper: 'I am glad of your departure; adieu, good Monsieur Melancholy.'

Something of the pretty girl in Rosalind's disguise tickles the old voluptuary. He is courteous, addresses her in the second person singular: 'I prithee, pretty youth, let me be better acquainted with thee'. His ancient cockerel vanity is excited, his feathers bristle:

'I have neither the scholar's melancholy, which is emulation; nor the musician's, which is fantastical; nor the courtier's, which is proud; nor the soldier's, which is ambitious; nor the lawyer's, which is politic; nor the lady's, which is nice; nor the lover's, which is all these: but it is a melancholy of mine own, compounded of many simples, extracted from many objects; and indeed the sundry contemplation of my travels, in which my often rumination wraps me in a most humorous sadness.'

He is a unique specimen. But Rosalind is not attracted: 'Your experience makes you sad? and to travel for it too!'

It was the affectation of travellers to be peculiar, to strut as *sui generis* among their countrymen. Sidney ridicules the 'wry transforméd traveller'!

Jaques does what no old gentleman should do—he spies on a lad fondling his lass: if I may speak of Touchstone as a lad. I do not know his age, but he is juvenile in his spirits, his jokes,

his unconventionality, and I think I may add, in his ideas of matrimony. Jaques sucks comedy out of his dallying with Audrey—who, by the bye, is not the traditional stage-idiot chewing an apple, but a sturdy Warwickshire milkmaid.

But if cuddling and kissing are to him as an egg to a weasel, on the sly, marriage bores him unspeakably. He would agree with Montaigne that it was an unromantic relationship, a bondage, 'necessary for the family and posterity' but 'staid' and 'mixed with severity' (apparently from the lady's side) and its 'appetite sluggish' and 'soon frigid'. He shivers at the sound of wedding-bells like the modern novelist. When eight young people, if we may include Touchstone in this category, present themselves at the Forest-altar, with the god Hymen from Heaven for priest, Jaques will none of it. He says (falling back on Scripture to express his disgust), 'There is sure another Flood toward, and these *couples* are coming to the Ark. Here comes'—Touchstone in motley, Audrey as milkmaid—'a pair of very strange *beasts*'. Without the Geneva Bible, on which Shakespeare and his generation fed, we miss the sting of the ridicule. There the translation runs of Genesis vii. 2: 'Of every clean beast thou shalt take to thee by sevens, but of *unclean beasts by couples*.'

Jaques takes himself off, and not uncivilly (be it noted), unless to Touchstone. The Forest has done him good (he is the sweeter for its fresh air), and he will stay in it, at the 'convertite's cell' and 'the abandoned cave'. But no wedlock for him, with its music and dancing—

> I am for other than for dancing measures—

not to mention that impediment called a wife, with her 'mewling and puking' incumbrance, frequently more than one.

It remains to speak of the great central scene, for it is great, (Act II. vii), in which the cynic at his best (I mean most brilliant) is answered with immense dramatic force (if well

acted, with a Shakespeare in it) with simple appeal to the eye by a character almost silent, almost incapable of speech. Of the two hundred lines of this scene Jaques speaks ninety-eight and a half, Adam one and a half; and the old man, bearing the primitive name and stuff of his race, refutes the up-to-date sceptic absolutely.

Orlando, we remember, rushes in with his sword, as into a company of highwaymen, to seize food for himself and Adam. Jaques scoffs,

> Of what kind should this cock come of?

flinging at the youth a term which describes himself. The Duke rebukes the intruder with dignity and kindness,

> What would you have? *Your gentleness shall force*
> *More than your force move us to gentleness.*

Apology follows instantly and acceptance:

> Pardon me, I pray you:
> I thought that all things had been savage here . . .
> But whate'er you are
> That in this desert inaccessible,
> Under the shade of melancholy boughs,
> Lose and neglect the creeping hours of time;
> If ever you have look'd on better days,
> If ever been where bells have knoll'd to church,
> If ever sat at any good man's feast,
> If ever from your eyelids wiped a tear
> And know what 'tis to pity and be pitied—
> Let gentleness my strong enforcement be:
> In the which hope I blush and hide my sword.
>
> *Duke.* True is it that we have seen better days,
> And have with holy bell been knoll'd to church,
> And sat at good men's feasts, and wiped our eyes
> Of drops that sacred pity hath engender'd:
> And therefore sit you down in gentleness,
> And take upon command what help we have.

Orlando goes to 'find his fawn', the 'old poor man' who after him 'hath many a weary step limp'd in pure love'; and between his exit and re-entrance with Adam, Jaques unbosoms himself on the text touched on by the Duke and as old as the satirist Petronius[1] (a contemporary of St. Paul), said to be written over the entrance to the Globe Theatre (1599), *Totus mundus agit histrionem*. He is clever (and he need be, for we get a trifle weary of him), and so clever that we are in danger of forgetting the absentees, of various ages—Adam and Orlando, and among others a girl, little seen and less heard, a power in the drama, with the significant name, *Celia*.[2]

Paraphrasing Petronius, Jaques proceeds to burlesque the *Septem Aetates Hominis*, 'The Seven Ages of Man':

> All the world 's a stage,
> And all the men and women merely players;
> They have their exits and their entrances,
> And one man in his time plays many parts,
> His acts being seven ages.

That symbolical representation of the successive periods of man's life from the cradle to the grave is one of the Sacred Sevens of the Medieval Church—others being the Seven Deadly Sins, the Seven Cardinal Virtues, the Seven Sacraments, the Seven Acts of Mercy, the Seven Sciences. It is hardly less familiar than these venerable devices in the art and literature of the Church. The Ages are variously measured, but Psalm xc. 10 is the basis of computation, *Dies annorum nostrorum septuaginta anni*; *si autem in potentatibus octoginta anni et amplius eorum labor et dolor*; or, as we sing in church, 'The days of our age are threescore years and ten; and though men be so strong that they come to fourscore years, yet is their strength then but labour and sorrow'. *Infantia* was Babyhood

[1] *Quod fere totus mundus exerceat histrioniam* (Fragment 10).
[2] The Heavenly.

or, as Eliot-Cooper gives it (the Latin dictionary in use in Stratford School when Shakespeare was a boy [1]), 'Babyship', the period of learning to read and write in English and to count, from birth to the age of seven. *Pueritia* was Boyhood, the period of learning 'Grammar', that is to read and write Latin, from the age of seven to fourteen. *Adolescentia* was Youth or 'Youngage' (as Eliot-Cooper has it), the period of apprenticeship, of acquiring a craft or profession, from fourteen or younger to twenty-one. *Juventus* was Early Manhood, the period from the taking out of one's freedom in a craft or graduating at the University to the age of thirty-five—*nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita*, as Dante says in the opening line of his *Divina Commedia*. *Virilitas* was Full Manhood, the period of maturity, from thirty-five to fifty. *Senectus* was Age, the period of declining strength, from fifty to seventy. *Decrepitas* was Old Age, the period of 'labour and sorrow', from threescore years and ten to fourscore and upward, *octoginta anni et amplius*.[2]

Sir Walter Raleigh gives a remarkable version of the conception in his *History of the World*. He writes:

'The Seven Ages of Man resemble the Seven Planets. Whereof our Infancy is compared to the Moon, in which we seem only to live and grow as plants; the Second Age to Mercury, wherein we are taught and instructed, our Third Age to Venus, the days of love, desire and vanity; the Fourth to the Sun, the strong, flourishing and beautiful Age of man's life; the Fifth to Mars, in which we seek honour and victory, and our thoughts travel to

[1] P. 25 f., and n.

[2] Arnold's Chronicle gives a different division. 'The Seven Ages of Man living in the World. The first age is Infancy, and lasteth from the birth unto seven year of age. The second is Childhood, and endureth unto fifteen-year age. The third age is Adolescency, and endureth unto twenty-five-year age. The fourth age is Youth, and endureth unto thirty-five-year age. The fifth age is Manhood, and endureth unto fifty-year age. The sixth age is Eld, and lasteth unto seventy-year age. The seventh age of man is Cripple, and endureth unto Death.'

ambitious ends; the Sixth Age is ascribed to Jupiter, in which we begin to take account of our times, judge of ourselves, and grow to the perfection of our understanding; the Last and Seventh to Saturn, wherein our days are sad and overcast, and we prepare for our Eternal Habitation.'

Older and more striking is the famous representation in mosaic on the floor of Siena Cathedral, a fine work of the year 1476.[1] So far as one can decipher the stones, worn by the knees and feet of centuries of worshippers, they give the following delineations.

Infans is a little child, playing with his hobby-horse and picking flowers in a garden.

Puer is a pretty schoolboy, in the same garden.

Adolescens is a student, in hat and cloak, in this garden.

Juvenis is a young man, with a falcon on his fist, in the garden.

Virilis is a learned *doctor* in his robes, carrying a book (of the law), in this garden.

Senex is an old gentleman, with a staff in his right hand and a rosary in his left, in this garden.

These six are in the Garden among flowers. The Garden is the World. Now the scene changes. The seventh age is in the Church. *Decrepitus*, 'Noiseless', leans on two staffs, and gazes with bowed head into his tomb, within the House of God. This 'last scene of all' is the central and largest picture of the series with a Cross behind it. All that has gone before leads up to the resigned and devout trust[2]—*Quanvis externus noster homo corrumpitur, internus tamen renovatur in dies singulos, dum non spectamus ea quae videntur, sed ea quae non videntur. Nam quae videntur temporaria sunt: at quae non videntur, aeterna.*[3]

[1] 'Tempore D. Savini MCCCCLXXVI.'

[2] Sidney Colvin missed the significance of the representation, esp. in the last emblem: '*Decrepitas* moves, over a land flowerless at last, on crutches to his open grave' (*Fortnightly Review*, July 1875). I do not think he is on crutches.

[3] 2 Corinthians iv. 16, 18.

Now read Jaques's travesty:

> At first the Infant,
> Mewling and puking in the nurse's arms.
> Then the whining Schoolboy, with his satchel
> And shining morning face, creeping like snail
> Unwillingly to school. And then the Lover,
> Sighing like furnace, with a woeful ballad
> Made to his mistress' eyebrow. Then a Soldier,
> Full of strange oaths, and bearded like the pard,
> Jealous in honour, sudden and quick in quarrel,
> Seeking the bubble reputation
> Even in the cannon's mouth. And then the Justice,
> In fair round belly with good capon lined,
> With eyes severe and beard of formal cut,
> Full of wise saws and modern instances;
> And so he plays his part. The sixth age shifts
> Into the lean and slipper'd Pantaloon,
> With spectacles on nose and pouch on side,
> His youthful hose well saved, a world too wide
> For his shrunk shank; and his big manly voice
> Turning again toward childish treble, pipes
> And whistles in his sound. Last scene of all,
> That ends this strange eventful history,
> Is second Childishness and mere Oblivion,
> Sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans everything.[1]

It is extraordinarily clever and witty. Only Shakespeare could do such justice to the Cynic. Every sketch is complete in a stroke or two, not of the brush but of the pen; the most elaborate being that of the penultimate age, wherein Jaques unconsciously hits off himself, with thin legs, spectacles, handkerchief, and broken voice.

[1] The nearest approach to Jaques's cynicism I am acquainted with is in an old Italian engraving by Christopherio Bertello at the Shakespeare Birthplace, likening Man in his *nine* periods to animals—the baby is a pig, the boy a sheep, the youth a goat, and so forth, the old man an ass.

For we *hear* as well as see. The successive ages make their characteristic disagreeable *sounds*. Homo is largely mouth. The infant is all mouth, crying and sucking and throwing up his milk—which is not his milk, his mother's, but the wet-nurse's. The boy blubbers in the street. The youthful poet (tragedy begins with love) groans in the 'furnace of affliction' (to use Isaiah's expression in the Geneva Bible). The soldier curses under his bristling moustache, uttering 'strange oaths' —not our homely 'dammé' but outlandish maledictions from Italy or Spain, horrible epithets of war. The justice (Shakespeare knew justices from the time, as I believe, he served in an attorney's office, and he draws him exceptionally well) has a mouth, or at least a belly (they often go together), round and lined with good capon (castrated and fattened cock, a dainty frequently presented to a magistrate to obtain his goodwill), and he lays down the law, 'with eyes severe and beard of formal cut', in loud voice intimidating to unlearned suppliants. Senex chatters, his once big voice turning again towards childish treble, piping and whistling in its sound. And the old Non-entity, imbecile and senile, without memory, toothless, blind, unable to *taste* (the last as the first mark of man) gives up the ghost. If we do not hear the last gasp there is a pathetic absence of sound (*crepitus* whether *dentium*, *digitorum*, *pedum* or *ventris*)[1] more arresting than a noise.

This may be *l'anatomie de Paris*[2] or the mockery of 'trencher-mates' in London, of whom Hooker complains, 'in the miserable times whereinto we are fallen' (1597), that they 'turn things that are serious into mockery', gifted with 'an art of contradiction by way of scorn' and graced with 'a wanton superfluity of wit too much insulting over the patience of more virtuously disposed minds'.[3] But it is not the philosophy of

[1] Otherwise, I would rather hear my father 'break wind' than give up the ghost.

[2] *As You Like It*, II. vii. 56.

[3] *Ecclesiastical Polity*, V. ii. 2.

the Stratford Poet. His children, boys, lovers, soldiers, justices, greybeards, and tottering veterans are, with rare exceptions, of an honourable mould. We think of little Mamilius and Marcius (Volumnia's little grandson), of young Arthur and Lucius (one of the Poet's additions to *Titus Andronicus*), of Romeo and Florizel, of Prince Henry and Hotspur, of the Lord Chief Justice (who makes Falstaff look 'a fool'), and Vincentio, Belarius and Leonato, Kent and King Lear, among others. They are as noble as Monsieur's caricatures are mean.

And what of Old Adam and Orlando? The words are hardly out of Jaques's mouth—

> *Sans* teeth, *sans* eyes, *sans* taste, *sans* everything—

(surely an echo of Montaigne in Florio, '*sans* tongue, *sans* eyes, *sans* ears', ii. 12) when 'Enter Orlando with Adam on his back': *Juvenis* and *Decrepitus*. They are welcomed by *Senex*, Duke Senior, who says to Orlando:

> Welcome. Set down your *venerable* burden,
> And let him *feed*—

venerable, as in Shakespeare always when deeply moved, the language of Religion. He calls for music, *Harmonia*, the last and greatest of the Seven Sciences; and *Virilis*, otherwise Amiens, sings his song with its religious thought of 'man's ingratitude' and 'benefits forgot' (the real cause of cynicism), and its rousing chorus of strong men in the open, defying the falsehoods of cities amid the realities of the Forest. In London, it may be, are 'fat and greasy citizens', 'the city-woman bearing the cost of princes on unworthy shoulders', 'courtiers' hands perfumed with civet', 'goldsmiths' wives' who give 'rings' to their youthful lovers, and the 'public executioner'. In Arden:

> Freeze, freeze, thou bitter sky,
> That dost not bite so nigh
> As benefits forgot:

[1] Morley, p. 296.

Though thou the waters warp,
Thy sting is not so sharp
As Friend remember'd not.
Heigh-ho! sing heigh-ho! unto the green Holly;
Most 'friendship' is feigning, most 'loving' mere folly:
Then heigh-ho the Holly!
This life is most jolly.

It is a Christmas song. Holly and 'jolly' belong to Yule and Christ in the stable. Shakespeare took the part of Adam (as more than once a part which he would emphasize, of a Ghost or a 'bookish' King). Oldys has preserved the tradition of his performance. In 'one of his own comedies, wherein being to personate a decrepit[1] old man, he wore a long beard and appeared so weak and drooping and unable to walk that he was forced to be supported and carried by another person to a table' —rather to a cloth spread on the ground—'at which he was seated among some company who were eating, and one of them sang a song'.[2] Coleridge envied the young actor who carried the Poet on his back. But that is 'bardolatry' in the eyes of modern detractors who could not write 'The Ancient Mariner'.

We may think of Shakespeare *speaking* the lines, as no one else could :

I have five hundred crowns,
The thrifty hire I saved under your father,
Which I did store to be my foster-nurse
When service should in my old limbs lie lame,
And unregarded age in corners thrown:
Take that, and He that doth the ravens feed,
Yea, providently caters for the sparrow,
Be comfort to my age! Here is the gold;
All this I give you. Let me be your servant:
Though I look old, yet I am strong and lusty;
For in my youth I never did apply
Hot and rebellious liquors in my blood—

[1] Absolutely correct term.

[2] *Memoir of Oldys* (Yeowell).

Nor did not with unbashful forehead woo
The means of weakness and debility;
Therefore my age is as a lusty winter,
Frosty but kindly: *let me go with you.*

This 'venerable burden', 'in long beard, weak and drooping', almost speechless, is, while life is in him (he is worth *feeding*), a bundle of love. He says without words 'Though our outward man perish yet the inward man is renewed daily. For the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are Eternal'.

22. LIGHT ON DOCTOR HALL

DOCUMENTS have turned up which throw light on Shakespeare's son-in-law, Doctor John Hall. The first is the minute of a Corporation meeting at Stratford on Saturday, 30 June 1632. At the end of the list of Principal Burgesses is the name of an absentee—

Jo. Hall generosus in Artibus Magister a(bsens);

and appended is the note, 'Master Hall, at the last hall elected a Chief Burgess of this Borough, hath neglected to come to take his oath, being thereunto warned by both the Chamberlains and Serjeants'. The busy physician objected to serve on the Corporation. Three times he was elected a Chief Burgess (on 14 March 1617, less than a year after Shakespeare's death, probably as the new master of New Place; on 14 February 1623, and on 25 May 1632), but he refused to be sworn. He was marked in 'default' on 6 July 1632, when he was in attendance (as we gather from a most interesting letter from the patient) on Master Sidney Davenport of Bushwood, but took his oath, the Corporation this time being determined, on 11 July. For fifteen months he made unwilling compliance, aggravated by overwork and illness and championship of the vicar, Thomas

Wilson, and on 9 October 1633 he was allowed to retire—being 'displaced', indeed, 'from being a Burgess for breach of orders and continual disturbances' (Council Book C.). He was out of his element at the Gild Hall.

Artibus Magister is illuminating. It settles the question of Hall's academic career and, by inference, his University. He was sixty, as we learn from his tombstone, in 1635, and without doubt was the John Hall who matriculated at Oxford from Balliol on 4 February 1592 (a native of Worcestershire and son of a gentleman), aged sixteen, and took his B.A. in 1595, his M.A. in 1598.[1] He travelled on the Continent, as we learn from his fellow-practitioner, James Cooke of Warwick, and probably obtained a medical degree in France.

Another document, quoted by Halliwell-Phillipps but without reference, is Doctor Hall's presentment as churchwarden in 1629 (Miscellaneous Documents i. 160). It is signed by him (the signature was cut out by Malone and inserted in his copy of Hall's *Observations*, whence it was restored by Mr. Ernest E. Baker) and two of his colleagues. It proves the doctor's lively interest in the parish church, his close observance of the Sabbath, and his puritan espionage, as churchwarden, of delinquent parishioners. We are not surprised that he had little leisure for Corporation meetings. He reports one 'for loitering forth of Church in sermontime', another for 'sleeping in the belfry, with his hat on, upon the Sabbath', a third for 'keeping drinking in his house after evening-prayer', a fourth for 'wearing his hat in Church' and being 'a common romler', a fifth 'for late coming to Church' and 'being abroad sermon-time', a sixth 'for late coming to Church', sitting 'very unreverently there, sometimes laughing and romling', others for 'beastly behaviour', putting hands under plackets,[2] being a common 'swearer and blasphemer of God'. A fellow-churchwarden is

[1] *Register*, II. ii. 187, iii. 190.
[2] *King Lear*, III. iv. 100.

accused of 'keeping-back the poor's money' from those in need of relief. Most interesting is the following 'item':

'The wife of Adrian Holder saith Goody Bromley is *an ill-book woman*, said *I would overlook her and her'n as I'd overlook others*, and bid me *Arent thee, witch!* and said *I was a whore and my bastards maintained me*, and bid me *get me home*, how *'a would brush the motes forth of my dirty gown*. Her witness—Patience Ford, Prudence Wright, and Goodwife Aston.'

Shakespeare, as well as his son-in-law, had listened to this lively kind of dialogue. Goody Bromley's execration, so puzzling to commentators, had arrested the Poet's attention, who introduces it in *Macbeth*, I. iii. 6,

> Aroint thee, witch! the rump-fed ronyon cries;

and in *Lear*, III. iv. 129,

> And aroint thee, witch, aroint thee!

It means (as we gather from the context in Doctor Hall's report) not merely 'begone!' but 'get thee back to Hell', 'get thee *home*!' a curse worthy to make the speaker 'an ill-book (Black Book) woman', not to mention her 'overlooking' with 'an evil eye'.

A third document reveals the fact that Shakespeare's son-in-law declined a knighthood. It is a list of Warwickshire gentlemen who compounded for their refusal of the honour on King Charles' coronation in 1626. 'The ceremony', Neal tells us, 'was another expense which his Majesty'—in sore need of money—'thought fit to provide-for by issuing out a proclamation, that all such as had forty pounds a year or more and were not yet knights should come and receive the order or compound for it' (*History of the Puritans*, i. 409, 1811 ed.). From the list we learn that William Combe esquire paid £25, Thomas Fullwood of Little Alne (a kinsman of Shakespeare through his grandfather Robert Arden's second wife) paid £16, and that

'John Hall of Stratford-upon-Avon, gentleman' paid £10. This was shortly before the marriage of the Doctor's only daughter, Elizabeth, to Thomas Nash in Stratford Church on Saturday 22 April, 1626. The date is arresting. It was two years after the publication of the folio in $162\frac{3}{4}$, and almost four years since the restoration of the Chancel, when, we may believe, the Poet's monument was erected. The month was that of his baptism and his death. The day of the week was not the usual day for weddings, which was Sunday. The Poet's death-day was 23 April. May we not assume that the bride chose Saturday the 22nd because it was her Grandfather's Birthday? He was baptized on 26 April, 1564; and 22 April would be the last day to permit the inscription:

Obiit Anno Domini 1616
Aetatis 53 die 23 Aprilis.

INDEX

'Abram' and 'Arthur', 150
Acheron, 102
Actaeon, 115 f.
'Adam', 160 f., 166–8
Adonis, 113–5
Ad Ricardum Lucinum, 46, 49–51
Aegeon, 122
Aeolus, 122
Aesculapius, 121
Aeson, 118
Aethiop, 121
Ajax (a jakes), 154
'All the World's a Stage', 161–5
Alveston, 128 f., 132 f.
Apollo (Hyperion, Phoebus, Sol, Titan), 37 f., 50 and n., 51, 102 n., 103–6, 112, 118 f.
Aquilo, 122 f.
Arachne, 109 and n.
Arden, the Forest, 152, 155–7, 159, 166 f.
Arden, Simon, 98
Argus, 106, 108
Ariadne, 117
'Aroint thee, witch!' 170
Aspinall, Alexander, 21 n., 75, 78–81
Astraea, 100
Atalanta, 113, 114 and n.
Atlas, 121
Atwood *alias* Taylor, Thomas, 1–4
Audrey, 155, 159
Aurora, 123
Auster (South Wind), 123 and n.
Autolycus, 106 and n.
Avon river, 130 f.

Bacchus, 124
Badger, Thomas, 3 f., 5
Baker, Ernest E., 7 n., 169
Baker, Oliver, 146 n.
'Bardolf', 'Bardell', 96 and n.
'Barring-out', 35
Baucis and Philemon, 118
Bedding, 24, 29 and n., 59 n., 64
Bellona, 124
Bennett, Simon, 131 f.
Bentley, Doctor Thomas, 9 f.
Bertello, C., 164 n.
Bible, The, 65, 99 f., 103, 121, 122 n., 141, 142–4, 146, 150, 161, 162, 163, 168
—, Bishops', The, 150 n.
—, Geneva, The, 28 n., 159, 165
—, Wyclifite, The, 140
Birthplace and Birthroom The, 66–9
Books, 25–7 and notes
Bott, William, 11 f., 53
Bradley, A. C., 144–8
Bradley, Gilbert, 48
Bretchgirdle, John, 13–31, 31–40
Browne, J., 94
Brownsword, John, 14, 20 f., 23, 31–49, 49–51
Building, 1, 8 f., 15, 17, 24, 33, 45, 66 f., 72–4
Bullinger, H., 136 f.
Burbage, William, 93, 97
Burgage, 7 n.

Cambridge, 58
Caps, 23, 31 and n.
Carter, T., 82, 86
Cartwright, Thomas, 84, 95
'Celia', 161
Centaurs, 117
Cephalus, 101
Cerberus, 101, 120
Ceres, 102, 107, 108, 111
'Cerimon', 105, 121
Chameleon, The, 127 f.
Chaos and Creation, 99
Charlecote, 46, 74
Charon, 101, 103

'Christian Burial', 22, 134
'Cleopatra', 107, 108 and n., 146 and n.
Clopton, Sir Hugh, 7 f., 84
—, William, 6 f., 9 f., 84
Cloth, 3, 5 f.
Clothing, 6, 22, 24, 29 f.
Coventry, 83, 86, 92
Crow, The, 50 f., 110
Cupid and his Arrows, 102, 112 f.

Daphne, 118
Deane, Dom. John, 15, 33–5
Deucalion, 100
Diana, 113, 115 f.
Dickson, *alias* Waterman, Thomas, 4 f., 10 f., 17, 45, 64
Dictynna, 115
Dis (Pluto), 100–3, 111
Dolphin, the, 126
Ducdamé (Duedamé), 157 f.
Dudley, Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, 16, 19, 45, 46, 48, 90, 95
—, Robert, Earl of Leicester, 46, 89 f., 91, 95
Dyos, Roger, 16, 18, 41, 56, 84

Edgeworth, Roger, 44 f., 83 f.
Elements, the Four, 99
Eliot-Cooper's Dictionary, 25 and n., 162
Envy, 110
Erebus, 101, 156
Eurus, 50 f., 122, 123 and n.

'Falstaff', 76; 116 f. his bestial view of Ovid's deities; 143 f. haunted by the parables of the Glutton and the Prodigal Son; 145 f. victim of the Pot, 147 and the Pox; 148 f. repudiated at the Coronation; 150 f. 'babbles' the 23rd Psalm, and dies
Famine, 124 f.
Fastolf, Sir John, 142
Fates (*Parcae*), the, 125
Florio, John, 152, 166
Furies, the, 101 f., 108
Furniture, 63 f.

Gairdner, James, 141 n.
Ganymede, 100
Giants, the, 121
Gilbert, *alias* Higgs, 74, 80 f.
Glutton, the, 143 f., 150 and n.
Golden Age, the, 99
Golding, Arthur, 98, 127
Gorgon, 109
'Gorshaw's'? 8 f.
Gowns, 2, 22, 24, 29 f., 56

Hall, Doctor John, 65, 168–71
'Hamlet', 121 n.
Hamlet, 133–5
Hamlet, Katharine, 128 f., 132 f., 135 f.
Harington, John, 154 and n.
Hart, Joan and William, 69
Harvard, Robert, 75; Thomas, 59 f., 69; William, 59 f., 69
Hebe, 107
Hecate, 102, 115
Hercules, 101 n., 119 f.
Hesione, 120
Hesperides, 120
Hesperus, 123 f.
Hiems, 124
Higford, Henry, 44 f., 55, 86 f.
Hippolyta, 117
'Holofernes', 80 f.
Homo Decrepitus, 162–8
Hooker, Richard, 165
Hymen, 107

Icarus, 119
'Images', 17, 85
Io, 118
Iris, 108 f., 111 f.

Jakes, 151–4
Japetus, 121
'Jaques, Monsieur', 98, 118, 151–4
Jason, 118

Jewels, 5 f., 59
'Joiner's House, The', 9
'Juliet', 105
Juno, 100, 107 and n., 108 f.
Jupiter, 100 f., 104, 121

Kemp, T., 21 n.
Kempson, Leonard, 65
Kenilworth, 91, 95

Lane, Nicholas, 94
Latin, 14 and n., 15 and n., 20, 26 f., 34–41, 44, 46 f., 49–51, 52, 78, 98–128
Lee, Sir Sidney, 82 and n., 88 n., 89 n.
Lethe, 109
London, 166
Lucina, 107
Lucy, William, 3, 7; Thomas, Sir, 16, 46 f., 75, 90 f., 96, 129; Joyce, Lady, 142; Richard, 46 f., 49–51

Macclesfield, 21 and n., 23, 40 f., 48 f.
Manchester, 13, 40
Manuaries, 87
Marks (signatures), 86
Mars, 112, 124, 127
'Martin Marprelate', 60, 95
Medea, 118
Melancholy, 153
Mercury, 100, 106, 108
Midas, 47, 50 and n., 51, 106
Minerva, 50 f., 107, 109 and n., 110 f.
Minos, 119
Montaigne, 152 f., 159
Muses, The, 124
Music, 26 n., 65

Narcissus, 118 and n.
Nashe, Thomas, 144, 152 n., 153, 154 n.
'Nathaniel, Sir', 80, 154
Neptune, 100 f., 126
Nessus and Lichas, 120
'New House', 22, 55–7, 59, 61, 72, 77
'New Place', 7–12, 69, 72
Nilus and its Python, 121 f.
Niobe, 118

Oberon, 102, 116
Oldcastle, Sir John, 139–42
Oldys, William, 167 and n.
Olympus, 121
'Ophelia', 133–6
Ovid, 98–128
Owl (Screech- and Hoot-), 110 f.
Oxford, 2, 9 f., 13 f., 16, 25 n., 31 f., 57–9, 78, 168 f.

Pan, 105 f.
Parker, Thomas, 74
Parnassus and Helicon, 124
Pegasus, 119
Pelion and Ossa, 121 and n.
Perseus, 119
Petronius, 161 and n.
Phaethon, 104 and n., 105
Philomel, 118
Plague in Stratford, 19 f.
Plume MS., 98
Poynton, 37, 39
Presbyterianism, 87, 89, 95
Procne, 118
Procris, 119
Prodigal Son, The, 143
Prometheus, 121 and n.
Proserpina, 102 f., 111
Protestants, 83–97
Proteus, 122
Pryce, Michael, 95
Pygmalion, 119 and n.
Pyramus and Thisbe, 118
Pythagoras, 121, 125

Quyney, Adrian I, 1, 3; II, 29 and n., 31, 55, 84; Richard I, 1, 3 f.; II,

Recusancy, 90–7
Rogers, Henry, 60 f., 87, 129, 133

Rogers, Thomas, 60 f., 69–75
Rumour (*Fama*), 124 and n.

Sadler, Hamlet and Judith
—, John I, 29 and n., 55, 62–4; II, 64–6
Salmacis, 113 f.
Samuel, Henry, 4–7
Saturn, 100
Savage, Richard, 23 n.
'Seven Ages of Man', 155–66; Arnold, 162 n.; Eliot-Cooper, 162; Raleigh, 162 f.; Siena Cathedral, 163; Jaques's Burlesque, 164–6
Shakespeare, Gilbert, 47 f.
Shakespeare, John, of Balsall, 130, 132
Shakespeare, John, corviser, 129
Shakespeare, John, Alderman, 1, 4, 17–20, 42, 45, 47 f., 63, 66–8, 82–98
Shakespeare, Richard, 1, 4, 53
Shakespeare, William, 19, his baptism; 68, his home in Henley Street; 69, removal to New Place; 81, his posy for Aspinall; 98–128, his use of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; 133, an attorney's clerk; 138, his view of suicide; 139–41, changes Oldcastle to Falstaff; 145 f., his head not turned by Falstaff's humour; 152, his ill-appreciation of Frenchmen; 152 f., his dislike of Montaigne manifested in his portrait of Jaques; 157 f., his love of the thrush and dislike of the weasel; 166 f., his love of the Christmas holly; 167 f., took and loved the part of Adam; 171, his granddaughter's wedding-day his birthday?
Shakespeare, William, of Warwick, 129 f.
Sibyl, 119
Silver Plate, 2, 10
Smart, William, 48
Smith, Henry, preacher, 137 f.
Smith, William, Alderman, 1, 3, 15 f., 19, 22, 26, 55–61; his son, John, 27, 59, 61, 76 f.
Smith, William, haberdasher, 19 and n., 92
Storm at Sea in Ovid and Shakespeare, 122 and n.
Sturley, Abraham, 60, 84
Styx, 101, 103 and n.
Suicide, 130–8
Symons, Richard, 1 f., 11, 52–5

Tantalus, 101
Tartarus, 103
Telephus, 119
Tereus, 118
Thersites, 105, 119
Theseus, 116 f.
Thetis, 123
Tiddington, 128 f., 132 f., 136
Time's Revolution, 125 f.
'Titania', 116 f., 124
'Touchstone', 122 and n.
Triton, 101

Underhill, William, 12 f.

Venus, 107, 111–5
Ver, 124
Vesper, 123
Vestments, 82, 87
Vulcan, 107, 112

Walker, Henry, 76 f.
Warwick, 21, 42, 46, 84, 85, 95, 97, 129
Watson, John, 57, 59–61
Whateley, Thomas, 3, 56 f.
Whitgift, John, 59, 90–2, 95–7
Wilmslow, 21, 40
Witton (Northwich), 14 f., 19, 32–6

'Yellow sands', 100 f.

Zephyrus, 123 and n.

822.33
Cf-s

Fripp
Shakespeare studies

13629
MAR 31 1981
JAN 30 '82
DEC 08 1989
Jan14'31
13629
Jan 27 32
24799
27 Mar '47
57498
1 Apr '45
57071
20 May '67
59812
21 Dec '68
A364
17 May '69

PORTLAND PUBLIC LIBRARY

.J.HUSTON
ook Seller
2 Exchange St

W7-BYG-605